

**THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF
GEORGE ALFRED LEFROY**

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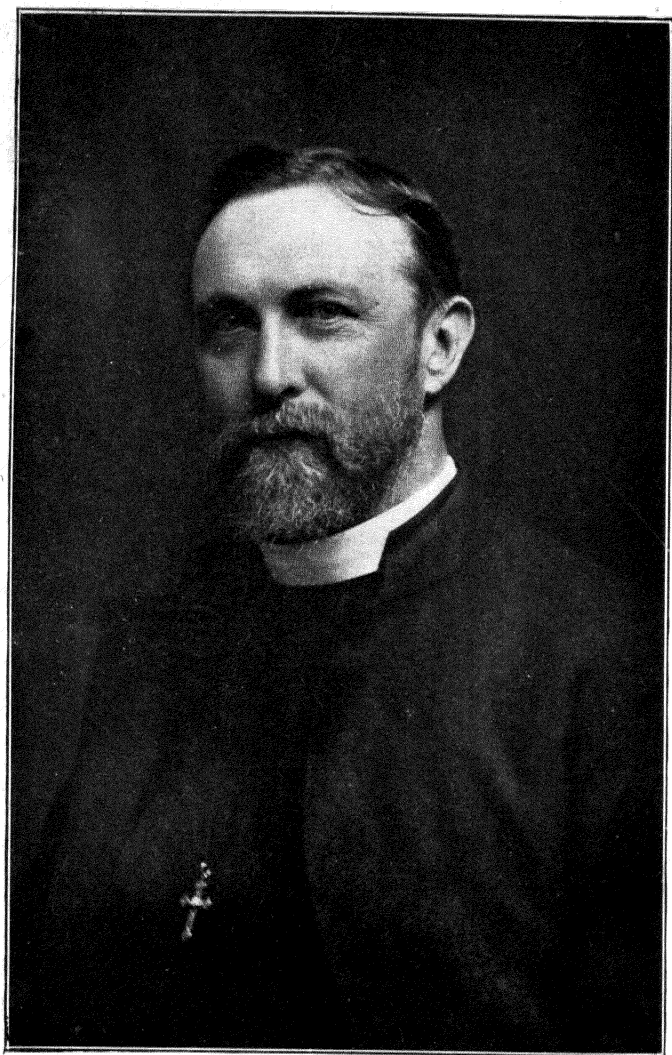


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BISHOP OF LAHORE.

THE
LIFE AND LETTERS OF
GEORGE ALFRED LEFROY

D.D., BISHOP OF CALCUTTA, AND METROPOLITAN

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BY

H. H. MONTGOMERY, D.D., D.C.L.

PRELATE OF THE ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE
SOMETIME BISHOP OF TASMANIA
LATE SECRETARY OF S.P.G.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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1920

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TO
HIS MOTHER
AS HE WOULD HAVE WISHED

PREFACE

WHEN the relatives of the late Bishop of Calcutta approached me with a request that I would write his "Life," it was impossible to refuse. He had been a warm friend of many years. I had just been freed from the S.P.G., and was myself born in India, with a family name not unknown in the Punjab. Moreover, I had spent six weeks in Delhi in 1913.

If the charm of a Biography depends in great part upon letters, then this volume ought to find a welcome; and no biographer can have been more highly favoured than I have been by the wealth of the bright, hopeful, thoughtful correspondence placed at my disposal by the family. For thirty-nine years this devoted son and brother wrote almost weekly to one or other of the home circle. All these letters have been preserved and are in truth an unconscious autobiography of utmost value. My difficulty has consisted in choosing among them. No son or brother, again, could ever have poured out his soul more fully to his own people than did George Lefroy: and at the same time no family has ever been more honourably reticent in regard to these confidences than the brothers and sisters who were privileged to receive such an education, for such indeed it is, in missionary problems.

To Miss Helena Lefroy I have to give my deepest thanks. She has read all the proofs and has made the index. Though I am solely responsible for all that is published, Miss Lefroy's counsel at every stage has been quite invaluable, and through her I have been in touch with all the other members of the family. In regard to the portraits, we all agreed that the photograph which forms the frontispiece gives the best impression of the man while he was still physically in his prime. The picture of Lefroy as Bishop of Calcutta, a reproduction of which is given, was painted by Mr. Goldsborough Anderson, and is the property of Mr. Edward Lefroy.

Perhaps the friends who have helped me most for the delineation of character, are the Bishop of Bombay, Bishop Foss Westcott (now the Metropolitan), and Archdeacon

Firminger, of Calcutta. To the Bishop of Madras, to many members of the Delhi Mission, chiefly to the Rev. F. J. Western, to the Bishop of Lahore and many members of the Diocese, past and present, as for example the Rev. H. U. W. Stanton, to many clergy and friends in the Diocese of Calcutta, especially the Rev. J. Godber, I desire to freely express my gratitude for help given.

It will be noted also how delightful a contribution has been made by a group of Indian gentlemen, both Christian and Moslem: nor have women missionaries in India failed to add their quota.

Those who knew Lefroy at school and college have been most helpful: and Mr. H. P. K. Skipton, secretary of the Indian Church Aid Association, most generously placed at my disposal all his material after writing the charming appreciation of one whom he loved and revered. This article is now published separately. My wife and Miss Fletcher gave me invaluable aid in copying letters, and Mr. A. W. Nott has been a constant helper.

In regard to the book itself, I have always held that biographies are spoilt by lengthiness, and that one volume is several times better than two, except in very exceptional circumstances. The best praise a book can receive is a wish that it had been longer. The central point of interest for most people will, I have no doubt, be found in the chapters which deal with the work of Lefroy in his relations with the Moslems. These I believe will be of permanent value, and I specially desire to explain that in regard to questions of Mahommedan controversy and criticisms of the tenets of Islam, I have not introduced any new matter. I have only quoted from articles written by Lefroy many years ago, such treatises being still available for purchase.

With regret I complete my task, wishing that I had accomplished it better. I can truly say that no one will have gained more than I have myself by the study of the life work of so great, so lovable, so bright and hopeful a man of God.

H. H. MONTGOMERY (Bishop).

CHISWICK,
January, 1920.

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LIFE AND LETTERS OF GEORGE ALFRED LEFROY

CHAPTER I

HOME AND SCHOOL LIFE

THE Lefroys trace their descent from a family which fled from the Netherlands during the Spanish wars. They arrived in England in 1569 and settled first in Canterbury ; afterwards at Ewshott in Hampshire. Then in 1763 one branch of the family is found in Ireland. George Alfred Lefroy's great-grandfather was an officer in the British army, and was quartered in Ireland for many years, and so founded the Irish branch. The grandfather, Thomas Langlois, an eminent Irish lawyer, became Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, and married the daughter of Sir Robert Paul of Silversprings, County Waterford. Four sons and three daughters were born to them. The third son, Jeffry, was the father of the future Metropolitan of India. He took Holy Orders, and in 1836 became Rector of Aghaderg in the Diocese of Dromore, County Down, and here he remained for fifty years, dying in 1885 in the Rectory where all his family were reared. The Rev. Jeffry Lefroy was the humblest of men, and was genuinely surprised when honours fell to him. In 1876 his Bishop conferred upon him the Deanery of Dromore, some seven miles from Aghaderg ; this, however, did not mean departure from home and parish. Naturally, too, he served on all important Bodies, such as the General Synod of the Church of Ireland, the Representative Church Body, and the chief Diocesan Committees. It will be seen later what his son, the Bishop, owed to his father's

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character and influence. In 1844 the Rector of Aghaderg married Helena, eldest daughter of the Rev. Frederick Stewart and Lady Helena Trench of Kilmorony near Athy. Six sons and three daughters were born to them, George Alfred being the fourth son, born August 11, 1854.

No mother ever had a nobler influence on her children than the wife of the Rector of Aghaderg. Two of her children have written a memoir of their mother for private circulation, a beautiful story, and I regret that I can only summarise the account there given of a very gracious personality. Mrs. Lefroy, *née* Trench, was born in Dublin in 1820, her mother, Lady Helena, being the daughter of the first Lord Arden, an elder brother of Spencer Perceval, who was assassinated in the Lobby of the House of Commons in 1812.

The Trenches moved to Kilmorony when Helena was fourteen. Here she became not only a first-rate horsewoman, a gardener and a botanist, but was also thoroughly grounded in the classics by her father, and learnt to read and to speak French, German and Italian. Her father, the Rector of Athy, was one of the old-fashioned Evangelical clergy, one of the best of them, deeply versed in Bible and Prayer-book, imbuing his family with a solid personal religion, a splendid foundation on which to build wider convictions of the Church and its Sacraments. These last influences were soon felt by the Trench family through Sir William Heathcote, of Hursley Park, the friend and patron of John Keble, the former having married Lady Caroline Perceval, another daughter of Lord Arden. Sir William often visited Kilmorony, and in 1841 the Trenches met Dr. Pusey in Ireland, being introduced by John Keble. In 1844 Helena married Mr. Lefroy, and left Kilmorony for the Rectory of Aghaderg. It may be noted that from her earliest days she had felt the true importance of missions and had consistently supported the S.P.G. In 1853 she heard George Augustus Selwyn preach, and then and there she dedicated to God, and for the work of the Church abroad, her yet unborn babe, to be baptized in due course George Alfred.

The Lefroys, and George not least, have always looked back with joy to the summer holidays, annually repeated, when the whole family in patriarchal fashion migrated from



AGHADERG RECTORY.

the Rectory in a body to Newcastle at the foot of the Mourne mountains, then a little fishing village. The cow and the pony, and the cart with the luggage, started in the evening, the family in an old-fashioned carriage began their migration next morning. Once settled in, the whole party engaged in constant excursions into the hills; they bathed and boated, of course, and it was the mother who rejoiced to arrange all the plans and picnics. Forty years afterwards, George and a brother were in the Orkneys and struck up a friendship with other visitors at the inn, when one of them said, "Are you the Lefroys who used to go off the pier at Newcastle?"

In the years that followed, the mother took the greatest pains to keep in touch with her sons, and was an indefatigable letter writer. Her handwriting was beautiful, for she had been brought up to believe that letters should be written with care and accuracy. There is no doubt that her example in this respect moulded George's own habits all through his life, and it may be as well to state here that the future missionary wrote almost weekly throughout his Indian career either to his mother or to one of his sisters; long and careful letters they almost all are, and clearly written. All these have been preserved, and the biographer's perplexity consists in choosing his material from a mass of wealth almost unprecedented in amount and quality.

But there is another member of the Aghaderg circle of whom special mention must be made. Happy is the household which has possessed a nurse beloved and honoured, only next in affection to the mother. Among this august band Sarah Anne Curtis must be given a high place; for forty years she was the nurse of the successive children in their infancy, and the friend of all of them in maturer years. She was evidently possessed of great gifts; besides this, she was a very godly woman, well versed in Scripture; also she had an unfailing supply of stories, and was an expert at all games, puzzles, and charades, being at the same time a stern disciplinarian. Perhaps what she was all in all may be summed up in a remark of the mother: "Yes, I always thought there must be some good in me because I was never jealous of Curty."

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In 1885 Dean Lefroy died : Mrs. Lefroy lived on for her children, believing in the wisdom of the old saying, " It is not so important to do extraordinary things as to do common things extraordinarily well." Another trait in her character deserves attention : " There was never in her a trace of that hurry and rush which is more common than attractive in the lives of many self-denying people. No one ever saw her fussed, or what is called ' put out.' It was the result not of carelessness or easy-goingness but of an intensely, but unobtrusively, methodical, disciplined, and thorough life, a calm, strong and happy temperament." There can be no doubt that her son George did not fail to recognise the beauty of this lesson from his mother's character. The day came when as Bishop of Lahore it was his duty at Bannu to preach at a service attended by the present King and Queen. He took as his text the words " Fret not." The Princess, as she then was, asked the Bishop for a copy of his sermon, and I am deeply indebted to her Majesty for giving me permission to use her copy in order to give many others the benefit of the lesson so well inculcated by the Bishop. The sermon will be found on pp. 152 *et seq*, given almost in full. Mrs. Lefroy had another gift. She read beautifully, and her sons and daughters tell of the delight with which they listened to Scott's novels, and to many of Miss Yonge's works—especially the " Heir of Redclyffe "—read to them of evenings.

After the death of the Rector of Aghaderg the family moved to Killiney, County Dublin, the mother giving as the reason for her choice that her sons were in England ; no, she would not go to England. " I shall stay in Ireland, but I shall settle as near England as I can, so that whenever my sons want to come to me they can do so as easily as possible." Killiney church was a long mile off, but up to the time when Mrs. Lefroy was eighty years of age she walked to church and back again Sunday after Sunday. Of course it was an immense joy to the mother when her son George, whom she had dedicated to God when yet unborn, was consecrated Bishop of Lahore in 1899. The Bishop came home in 1908, visiting Palestine on his way, in order to attend the Pan Anglican Congress and the Lambeth Conference, and was in time to see his mother once more. She passed away in that

year in her eighty-eighth year. They tell how she repeated the 27th Psalm perfectly and accurately as was her wont, almost as her last words. Characteristically, too, when asked how she felt, she answered, "Oh! failing, failing, failing; but oh! how I wish that matters would hurry up a little." She was buried beside her husband at Loughbrickland, and great was the gathering at the funeral; all classes and religious denominations were present. A dozen times the bearers were changed, so eager were as many as possible to help to carry "the mistress" to her last resting-place.

The history of one to whom the subject of this memoir owed so much is the best possible background for all that is to follow. Let the Bishop speak for himself. In a sermon preached at Simla on "Womanhood" he said, "Think of the mother's influence and of how she herself—not what she says, not what she does, but above all what she is—is impressed upon the life of her child, and moulds it and shapes it in a thousand ways which we can never trace, of which mother and child may alike be wholly unconscious, but which are as certain as the influence on us of any other of the natural surroundings and circumstances amid which the young plastic life develops and is formed. Nor is it restricted to the time of infancy or childhood only, though even if it were the impress so made, the seed so sown must necessarily be of the greatest possible potency in the development of the whole life. I stand before you myself, as one, and I doubt not there are other men in the congregation who could say the same, to whom the mother is still the guiding power of my life. I turn to her still, not only for counsel in difficulties, though that too, but also which is of infinitely more importance, for that sense of restfulness and calm and quiet, for the inspiration of all things pure and true and beautiful and good, and for the sense of God's presence coming very close to human life, which are surely amongst the most strengthening and helpful influences which can enter into the life of any of us. I owe more to my mother than to any other human influence of which I am conscious." A noble tribute from a son to a mother.

George must early have imbibed influences from his mother since it is related of him that even before he could speak

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plainly, if asked what he intended to be, he used to lisp "I want to be a Missionary in New Zealand." But we pass on to schooldays.

At ten years of age he was sent with an elder brother to Temple Grove near Mortlake, a famous school, occupying the house of Sir William Temple, ambassador in Holland in the reign of William III., and where Swift was Secretary and where also it is said he first met Stella. George only spent one year there, and in 1865 he went to Marlborough, where he remained for nine years. Starting at the bottom of the school he worked his way up to the top. Strong in body he succeeded in winning the school mile after several efforts; but his happiest memories were connected with many a ramble in Savernake Forest, where he gained a love for wild life which led him in after years to seek his recreation as often as possible in the higher Himalayas; letters in due time will reveal his joy in expeditions at altitudes up to 15,000 feet and within view of mighty peaks.

Memories of George's school life as given by school fellows and masters are all delightful, and the following lines seem to reveal the man as we knew him up to the end.

The Rev. G. H. Purdue writes :

"I was at Marlborough with him in 1869-73 and for the last two or three years he was one of my chief friends. He was a splendid type of a public-school boy, a first class mile-runner—winning the mile his last year as a 'dark horse' owing to his splendid stamina and pluck—but above all things high-principled and not ashamed to show his colours when necessary, always cheery and good tempered. It would be difficult to find a finer character in the rough and tumble of public-school life in those days. One incident respecting him I always recall with gratitude. Knowing that I like himself was hoping to be ordained, he suggested that we should meet in his study and read Greek Testament together. This we did on several occasions. It was one of the most precious memories of my friendship with him. No wonder that a boy of his age who could, with so many claims on his time, so propose a plan for his friend's benefit, should have lived to become the much loved and honoured helper and friend of so many souls."

"Lefroy had a charming disposition which disarmed

opposition and won him friends among all classes. I remember on one occasion how he took me to the house of a farmer who lived near Marlborough. Farmers and College boys were not always the best of friends, but in this instance we were generously entertained to walnuts and wine. It appeared that previously to this the farmer had caught Lefroy trespassing on his ground. Lefroy explained that he had done no harm and would do no harm. Thus a friendship commenced and peace reigned in the place of war."

From the Rev. W. H. Churchill (1880) to Mrs. Lefroy :

"Frank sent me George's letter to read which I am now returning. I am so glad to see he is cheery and well, but I doubt if it is possible for him to be otherwise. I have known him for 14 years now: we went to Marlborough together as small bairns, and I never knew him say or do anything that would have brought a blush to your cheek. In after life it was just the same. At our ordination we saw a great deal of each other, and there he was, a man of such disinterested holiness, together with such winning, tolerant, unselfish ways, that it made one hang down one's head and sigh to be a little more like him. You who know him will know that this is not extravagance, but merely the truth. It is honour enough to have such a friend: what joy it must be to have such a son."

"Thank you so much for letting me see George's letter. I have just packed off one to him, 15 pages of sermon sheets, giving an account of Trinity Sunday at Ely. Many a time my thoughts wandered back a year and visions of George, on his knees, alone with me, made me wish, not a little, that he too were there. He is one of those men whose very presence drives sin away. Good-bye."

From the Rev. C. W. Bourne (his house master):

"The impression that Lefroy's character made on me was of 'straightness' and 'alertness.' He was one of those persons whom one always took for granted: that he would under all circumstances do the right thing in the right way seemed to be a matter of course. Such a character goes on its way, sweetening all its surroundings, but so unostentatiously that one does not realise at first how much good such a person is doing. I have tried to recall some of those who were boys with him in the same house at Marlborough. I fancy I am correct in naming the following: R. E. Prothero (now Lord Ernle); H. Vassall, the famous Oxford footballer, and his cousin R. L. S. Vassall, who died while serving in one of our frontier

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campaigns in India ; C. L. M. Des Gray, the diplomatist ; A. P. Codd, the most brilliant mathematician I ever taught ; R. G. Kekewich, the defender of Kimberley, and his cousin, H. L. Lopes ; J. B. Kite, Dean of Hobart ; G. W. Grey, at that time a Queen's Page ; G. Mackintosh and W. L. Mackintosh, two brothers who have done great things, one in the service of the Army, and the other of the Church ; K. W. Murray, the Genealogist ; R. W. Doyne, the well-known ophthalmic surgeon ; and two notable trios of brothers, Sieveking and Pickard-Cambridge. I kept in touch with Lefroy till he went out to India, but after that time ill-luck always prevented my seeing anything of him in his visits to England."

CHAPTER II

CAMBRIDGE

IN 1874, George Lefroy went up to Trinity College, Cambridge. So far as I can judge he did not exhibit in his University life any special indication that he would be distinguished in after years. But undoubtedly he did not neglect his studies since in 1878 he gained a first class in the Theological Tripos. Speaking of Lefroy, Dr. Stanton writes, "Emphatically he was one of those Christian lads from our great English Public Schools of whom Archbishop Benson once said, 'The army of Heaven which follows the Son of man on white horses has no more fair, more beautiful recruits.'" Home, School, University were training the man, and he was one who had no need for a special moment of conversion. Continuing in one stay he grew, and there is a noble work in a world that needs all types of Christian life for those who by all testimony go from strength to strength, earning the gratitude of schoolmasters and college tutors, and carrying on for themselves the happiest of associations of their early days for after life. It was during his time at Cambridge that he was brought into touch with those who were planning a Cambridge Mission to Delhi. The story has already been well and completely told by Canon Bickersteth in his Life of his brother,¹ and I am permitted to give the substance of what is there stated as well as to print an extract from one of Lefroy's letters which appears in that volume.

The conception of such a Mission seems to have occurred first to Edward Bickersteth some time in 1875 and under the influence of two distinguished men, Dr. Valpy French, some time fellow of University College, Oxford, a great missionary and linguist and soon to become Bishop of Lahore, and also of

¹ "Life and Letters of Edward Bickersteth" (Sampson Low).

Professor Westcott at Cambridge. French, of course, had been visiting Cambridge in the cause of Missions in the Punjab. Both these men felt that, in the words of Dr. Westcott, "the Universities are providentially fitted to train men who shall interpret the Faith of the West to the East and bring back to us new illustrations of the one infinite and eternal Gospel." In 1876 the scheme was proposed in papers read before the Cambridge University Church Society and the Cambridge Graduates Mission Aid Society, by Dr. French and the Rev. E. Bickersteth. The general idea was "the formation of a band of fellow workers whose special object should be, in addition to evangelistic labours, to promote higher education, to provide a home for Christian students, and to undertake literary and other work which might reach the more educated and thoughtful." The S.P.G. promised cordial assistance; Delhi was proposed as the best centre, and Sir Bartle Frere wrote a letter warmly supporting the scheme and pointing out the advantage to be gained by associating Cambridge with the fine work already being carried out at Delhi by the Rev. R. R. Winter under the auspices of the S.P.G. The Rev. E. Bickersteth and the Rev. J. D. M. Murray actually joined Mr. Winter in Delhi in 1877. In 1878 Mr. Winter took furlough and the whole of the Mission work in Delhi was entrusted temporarily to the two Cambridge men. In 1878 the Rev. H. C. Carlyon and the Rev. H. F. Blackett joined the others in Delhi. All four were either fellows or scholars of their colleges.

But to return to Lefroy at Cambridge. After taking his degree he spent the greater part of his time at Cambridge in the study of Hebrew and Persian. He also began to teach in Jesus Lane Sunday school, and to give lectures in Barnwell to young men. In that year he writes home upon a subject which earns for him the intense sympathy of his biographer: "I was asked," he says, "not only to teach in the Sunday school but also to collect subscriptions for the C.M.S. It is terrible work, about the most unpleasant I think that I was ever employed on, but I try to keep my naturally depressed spirits as high as possible, and I believe that so far I have met with average success." It may help if I add my experience to Lefroy's. As a Sunday school teacher at Jesus Lane throughout my Cambridge career I was given a list of

names at Trinity of men whom I was to visit for the purpose of obtaining sums of 5s. for the C.M.S. Nothing I have ever had to do since has seemed formidable after that experience! I can understand better how Lefroy could face angry crowds in the Delhi Bazaar since he also persevered in obtaining those sums (at what a cost!). To knock at a man's door, probably a senior man, to find him at breakfast with others, to explain in halting terms what I wanted to a man who may have had the dimmest idea of the C.M.S., and to be asked in return how much I wanted in order to get rid of me as soon as possible, and to feel that 5s. was a cheap riddance! No, nothing in after life has been a more distressing duty. But to continue: let Lefroy speak for himself in regard to his early associations with Bickersteth.

"My recollections of contact at Cambridge with Edward Bickersteth, before the mission started for Delhi, are very slight indeed. I remember a walk in the Botanical Gardens shortly after I had, in consequence of a sermon preached by Dr. Lightfoot in Great St. Mary's, asked to be accepted as a member of the Brotherhood. One or two similar walks I know followed, and then I have a clear recollection of a characteristically University gathering at which, the full number of six who had been asked for to start the mission having been completed, we inaugurated our undertaking by a breakfast in Pembroke College in the rooms of our leader. And I have often thought that it was a marked sign of the hand of our God upon us for good from the first, that although of the six who so sat down to breakfast in the spring of 1877 only two were able to go out that year, two more the next year, and the remaining two not till the autumn of 1879, yet eventually, without a single loss or withdrawal from any cause, the same six met in December, 1879, for breakfast and a truly "common" life in Delhi. Of the subjects of conversation in those first walks I remember nothing, but I do know that the sense of enthusiasm and of keen, though restrained, energy which so markedly characterised Bickersteth did not wholly fail of their due effect upon me."

In June, 1879, George Lefroy was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Ely. He came home for a few weeks before he sailed in November for India. And it happened that on his last Sunday at Aghaderg he read the lesson (Ezekiel ii.) in

which the words occur "to preach the word, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear." For his sermon ere he left, his text was "Brethren, pray for us," and his words were long remembered by many of his hearers. His companion for the voyage was the Rev. S. S. Allnutt, these two making up the number of the Cambridge mission to six : And it is surely a touching and inspiring fact to remember that three of them have just passed away all within a year, forty years after they went to India : all three, Allnutt, Lefroy, Carlyon, lie buried among the people for whom they gave their lives. Lefroy's brother, the Rev. F. Lefroy, gives us the last peep of the young missionary in a letter to his mother written from his grandmother, Lady Helena Trench's house, at Rownhams.

"You will like to hear about old George. . . . He met us yesterday just before we got here and we had a delightful talk together on such a perfect evening, still and clear with a glorious sunset. Then there was service at five and a chat with Grandmother and dinner altogether with a sit round the fire and gossip with Uncle very like a bit of home. We didn't go to bed very early for we had a good deal to say, and we thought it might be some time before we had an opportunity for an evening chat again. Then this morning we had Communion at eight to strengthen and refresh us, and then a big breakfast party at the Parsonage, and about ten thirty we three G., E., and I set off for Southampton. We found the great steamer lying alongside in the docks and went down at once to inspect the cabin. George and Allnutt are together in a very tiny place, but they are glad to be alone and there is just room to turn round, but no more. . . . We met Dickinson on board, who had come from town to see his tutor off, and when we had made things straight on board we went up into the town again. It is needless to say that there were several little things which G. wanted to buy including a housewife and thimble. We had a good luncheon together and directly afterwards walked to the steamer again. There we met Mr. Winter, Mr. Allnutt and his father and had a good deal of pleasant talk with them. They seemed to appreciate George as much as we could wish. And so the time passed too quickly until the bell rang for all who were not passengers to leave the ship. . . . We ran round as hard as we could to the mouth of the dock through which she had to pass, and we got so near again that we were able to speak to him and hear him speak to us and then there was nothing more for it but to wave and

watch and wave as long as we could until the dear figure became quite indistinguishable. . . . I needn't say that old George was himself up to the very last, and it is impossible for us to realise that we are not to see him again for who knows how long. I could not believe it right to see so little comparatively of those whom we love best and revere most in this life if it were not that we hope to know and love them infinitely better in another. How wonderfully the Epistle came in at the morning's Communion, Eph. vi. 10."

CHAPTER III

DELHI

BEFORE George Lefroy reaches Delhi let us consider the situation. Cambridge under the influence of Dr. Westcott had just planted in India "the first Community Mission sent out by any University in modern times." Oxford was soon to follow, then Dublin, but much depended upon the pioneers, and without question the first Cambridge missionaries worthily created a tradition for the new movement: Lefroy was the sixth member and the youngest. Let him speak for himself, especially in regard to the magnetism of the leader of the band, Edward Bickersteth. The following lines have already appeared in Bickersteth's "Life," written in 1898:

"In Delhi, while as quite the youngest and most inexperienced member of the mission I was unable to enter so thoroughly into the plans and difficulties of our Head as the elder members, such as Murray, Carlyon, and Allnutt, yet, on the other hand, just because of my youth I was brought into specially close contact with him of another kind, acting as a kind of curate to him in several departments of our work, notably the ministerial charge of Daryaganj, one of the most important of the city districts, and also of Mehrowli, a principal out-station lying some eleven miles to the south of Delhi. After the lapse of more than fifteen years, handicapped as I am by an abnormally weak memory, I am quite unable to recall specific incidents illustrative of the relationship so established, and of what it became to me, yet I do know that in our quiet walks home, late on Sunday night, from Daryaganj to our own house, a distance of about two miles, along a road often bathed in the glorious Indian moonlight, and running between the old Mogul fort of Delhi on our right hand and the solemn and beautiful Jama Musjid on the left, while further on we passed through the historic

Kashmir Gate, with its undying Mutiny associations, ideals were suggested to me, and a force of character and depth of piety brought home to me, which in those first days of my ministerial life were of simply priceless value, and to which I believe I owe more of inspiration and strength for that life than to any other individual influence outside the innermost circle of my own home. The drives out to Mehrowli, too, were full of interest and helpfulness, though that part of our work together is more saddened in recollection by its frequent connection with weakness or suffering on Bickersteth's part, for it was often resorted to when overstrain of work or fever in Delhi made some little change imperative. And how frequent such occasions were I have realised more than I ever did before by reading through, for the purpose of these notes, a diary I used to keep at that time. It is of the very barest kind and scarcely suggestive of anything of interest for my present purpose, but it is remarkable that out of a large number of allusions to Bickersteth in it nearly half consist of such remarks as 'E. B. very seedy,' 'bad night,' 'high fever,' 'headache,' or the like. In point of fact, there is no doubt that almost from the first the intense summer heat told unduly on a mind and body which was always working at the highest possible point of energy and intensity. I know that often, as we lay out on the roof at night side by side, I would turn over in a sleep which, though somewhat disturbed by the heat, had yet plenty of restorative power in it, to find Bickersteth literally gasping alongside of me, and quite unable to get to sleep at all.

"Then two distinct experiences stand out in my mind with special clearness—the one my ordination to the priesthood at Amballa, the other a walk deep into the Himalayas from Simla which Bickersteth and I took in the autumn of 1881.

"For the ordination, on Trinity Sunday, June 12, in the very greatest heat of a hot year, we stayed at the Chaplain's house. There were together for about four days before the Sunday, Bishop French, that true father in God to so many of us in the Punjab, Bickersteth, as examining chaplain, another Englishman besides myself for Priest's orders, and a native, still working with an unblemished name and very high character in one of the C.M.S. stations of the Punjab, also for Priest's orders.

"As in other cases, so here, in my inability to recall details I can only say that the whole time, the close contact with, and the addresses of, the saintly Bishop, the walks with

Bickersteth, and his sermon at the ordination itself, formed one of the most impressive experiences of my life.

"In our Himalayan walk we were naturally brought into the closest and most continuous contact that I enjoyed during that two years and three-quarters of life together in India. Away from all the engrossing occupations and distractions of Delhi work, we were for nearly a month practically quite alone together, scarcely meeting another Englishman along the road, usually sleeping in the same room, walking, talking, playing chess together. Into this trip also, however, the experience of sickness entered, as both on our outward and homeward march we had to lie by for one or two days owing to slight attacks of, as I believe, the very same trouble which at last took him from us.

"And from all these diverse experiences, while the separate details which went to form them have passed from my mind, a figure stands out of the clearest, most impressive, most unforgettable personality possible. If I were to try and single out special features of it—which is difficult to do—I think I should give the first place to two—piety and energy.

"All he did was, as we knew and recognised instinctively, based on prayer and communion with God. His devotional addresses were full of the deepest spiritual power. One of the most distinct contributions of all that he made to the organisation of the work of the Delhi Mission was the deepening in the native agents the sense of the supreme need of earnest personal prayer, and of systematic Bible study for the efficient discharge of the very difficult work to which they were called. Additional opportunities and services for this end were afforded, while he regularly every week had any catechist, or other agent with whom he was in direct contact, to his own room for conversation and prayer together. Far as we have fallen short of his standard in this respect, I do yet hope and believe that the principles which he instilled into us, and on which he based the early life of our Brotherhood, have not been lost.

"And then there was his incessant energy of body and mind. I always think of him as living at the highest possible strain of all his powers. If he walked it was, even in the middle of the hot weather, at a pace which few cared to keep up with, at any rate without protests, uttered or thought; if he rode—and this he frequently did, though it always seemed to me as though he was not a true horseman in the sense of enjoying the riding for its own sake, but that he simply viewed it as a convenient and rapid means of getting

from place to place—no grass grew under the pony's feet. So it was in his study of Urdu and Persian, so it was in every single thing he took in hand. That this intensity of disposition was, at any rate at that comparatively early part of his life, accompanied by some of the defects which almost inevitably go with that type of character cannot, I think, be doubted. There was at times a tendency to impatience, and not infrequently the worries and difficulties inseparable from a work and life such as ours, and which on some occasions became very grave indeed in connection with our position and work in Delhi, told upon him in a way that he was, I am sure, himself the first to regret.

"But, on the other hand, the spirit of high enthusiasm, the thoroughness, the devotion to work—as also to play, while he was at it—the high aims, the wise, large-hearted plans for their attainment, and the depth of personal holiness and of striving after an ever closer and closer walk with God, which were embodied in him, were both to the mission as a whole and to each of us individually an inspiration such as we can never forget, and have, especially in conjunction with his peculiar position as the first Head and one of the first founders of the mission, secured a quite unique position in the annals of the Cambridge Mission to the name of Edward Bickersteth."

Lefroy prepared himself at once specially to be an Evangelist, and I think it was a joy to him. It is not the easiest course: to be a pastor comes more naturally to most men, but this young Irishman brimful of energy and physical health girded himself with a loving and sympathetic heart to commend the Gospel to those who stood outside it. Moreover, he recognised at once that the hardest task committed to an Evangelist is to carry the Gospel to Moslems. Many faithful men, when a choice exists, turn consciously or unconsciously from the Moslem to those of another faith. The two religions which are the least attractive for aggressive work are the Jewish and the Mahomedan. Lefroy, however, did not hesitate, and became one of the outstanding authorities on missions to the Moslem world. Yet though no man ever bore a more faithful or a fuller witness to the truth as he conceived it, his generous nature, and perhaps here his Irish descent and humour helped him, and made him not only respected but

beloved by those with whom he was engaged in controversy. It is true, I think, to say that all through his Delhi period he stood out more and more as a missionary to Moslems. He will speak for himself. My own task, indeed, has been made difficult not from the paucity but from the superabundance of his letters. Nor are they superficial: on the contrary, he made his immediate family his confidants, pouring out through many and carefully written pages, not only his acts, but his hopes and ideals. It has indeed been a perplexing task to choose among this mass of fine material. It may also be assumed that if no name or initial is given, the letter in question is addressed to a member of his family circle. The following letters are the first from India, and are written with all the freshness of a new-comer:

"Delhi: Friday, Dec. 12, 1879.

"At last Delhi. It is Friday evening, just 7 o'clock, and the mail goes out soon, but just one word must go with it from the long-looked-for goal. . . . I reached Delhi on Thursday at 3 p.m. You may imagine what a meeting it was as the six of us stood together on the platform—or indeed eight, for besides our six selves of the Cambridge Mission there was Winter and another old missionary who is stopping with us at present. We quite took the station by storm. A quarter of an hour's drive brought us to our temporary quarters, viz. a very nice bungalow rather less than a mile outside the city walls. It is very comfortable and healthy, but too far from our work for a permanency. After dinner we went to the church for Evening Service which is daily, as well as Service in the morning.

"I have this moment come back from a service which Winter took in a little outlying hamlet. It was a strange, and naturally to me, a very impressive sight; twenty or thirty of the natives, all poor, squatting round us in their strange attitudes; of course I could not understand anything of the service, though to lose no time I had my first interview with a Munshi (tutor) to-day. I can tell you I felt uncommonly helpless as the door closed and left me, who know scarcely a word of Hindustanee—with a gentleman of colour who knew no word of English—however, by the help of a dictionary, pen, ink and paper, we soon got on a little, and I hope the worst of it will soon be broke."

" January 7, 1880.

" We have had a terrible disappointment in one way this week. A nice quiet looking Mahommedan came to Bickersteth one morning saying he had been attending the Bazaar preaching and would like to know more about Christianity. Of course B. gave him some help and arranged to read with him regularly. The next day he came to say he had been beaten and turned out of house and home for coming to us. The upshot of it was that we took him in here. He was a nice-looking man, apparently of good family—and you know converts from Mahommedans of this class are very rare—and we all liked him very much. And then yesterday it turned out to be all a sham. He was baptised by the Baptists some months back, and his story to us had been a tissue of lies. It was a terrible blow to Bickersteth, and shows how careful one must be in baptising—even now we cannot make out his motive."

" March 10, 1880.

" I should like at some time to tell you more about the peculiar circumstances of the Mission—our hopes and fears and plans regarding it, but this much I can say now that day by day there grows on each of us the conviction that the very heart of our teaching, both foundation and corner-stone, must be Jesus Christ and Him crucified. We all need all your prayers, and I feel we are not without them."

The influence of caste.

" Delhi : April 7, 1880.

" It is almost impossible to realise their scrupulosity in matters of food. It has even spread in great measure to the Mahommedans, *e.g.*, C. a few days ago wanting a little brass vessel for some purpose, and seeing one in the hands of one of our bearers—a Mahommedan—asked him to show it to him. It was his regular drinking vessel, his *lota*—each man has one—and it is as dear to him almost as his life, as important to be kept from impurity or profanation. The man brought it and showed it to C. who unwittingly put out his hand to take it. The man drew quickly back, but his finger had touched it! 'Never mind, Sahib,' said the man (really a most respectful servant), 'I can wash it clean!' A., hearing that this same man was ill with fever, sent him out a dose of quinine, the effects of which they know and value highly; but it was in one of our glasses, so the man absolutely refused to touch it—even if it were poured into his own *lota*—it had already contracted contamination. In the total absence of spirituality

in their religion, I suppose it is inevitable that a very religiously minded people should supply the need of scrupulous heed to points of this kind. . . . Then there is our Chaukedar, or night watchman, a member of a celebrated caste of thieves who levy a regular blackmail, inasmuch as you must engage one of the confraternity as your watchman, or you will be robbed to a certainty. If you do have him the odds are very much against your losing anything.

The position of the Mission House.

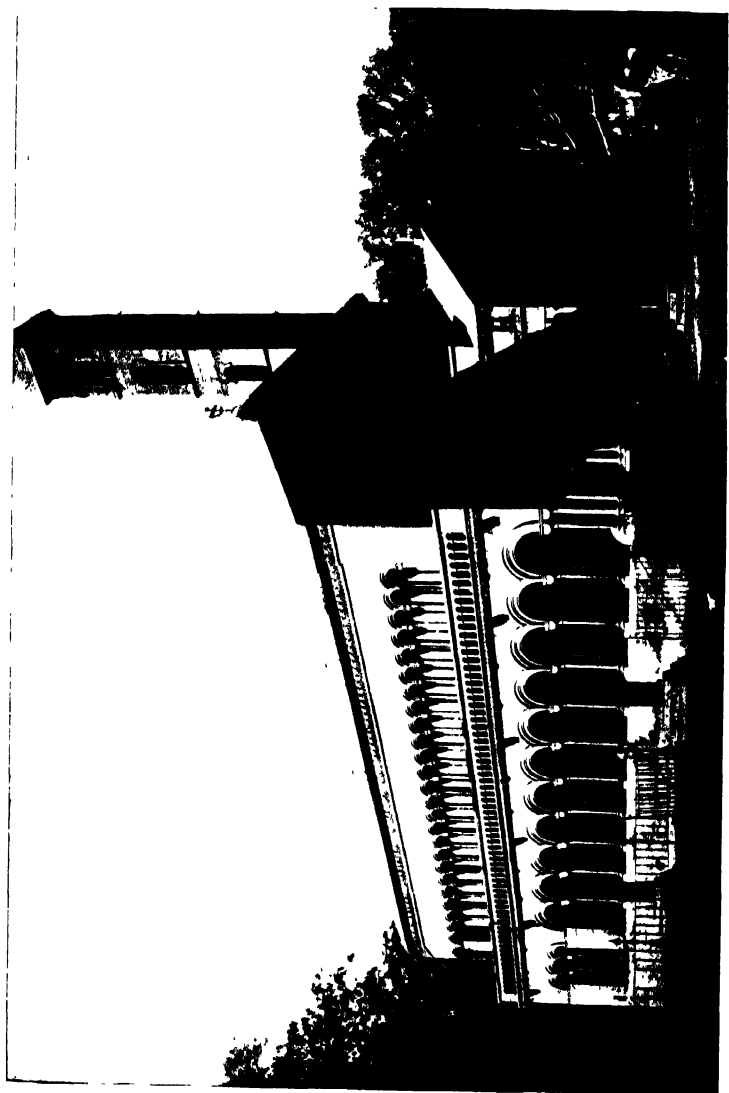
"I believe that our position as the ruling power puts a dead weight on missionary enterprise which nothing but the direct grace of God can possibly enable us to lift. As long as we are out here we are simply of the Bara Sahibs, doubtless employed by Government to seduce the people from their religion by bribery and every means, fair or foul, but equally doubtless drawing a good stipend, and here (as all the civilians and military, and in fact every Englishman is here) primarily for his own sake; secondarily, or rather infinitely afterwards, for the sake of the natives! Shall we then move into the City? We have found a site which would do very fairly, but there is the one fact that no European does live in the city, and we should have to count on our lease of life being very distinctly shortened."

I may as well here insert the after history of the location of the Cambridge Brotherhood. The Cambridge men lived on in the house outside the walls till 1893. They then came into the S.P.G. Mission House within the city, where they have resided up to the present time. This house belonged to one of the Indian nobles till the Mutiny, when it was confiscated by the Government, and sold to the Delhi Mission, and is held by the S.P.G. as a Trust for the Diocese. The Rev. R. R. Winter came to live there in 1860. In 1919 it has been determined to remove the Mission to another house in a more open part, but still within the precincts of the city. St. Stephen's Church is of course retained.

The following, written six months later than the last letter, refers to the same subject:

"A Loft, Melrowli: Dec. 7, 1880.

"You may know that I have all along been the strong and persistent advocate of going into the city for our dwelling-place, and the present, when I was going entirely alone,



ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH, DELHI.

seemed a good time to try the experiment—though, of course, my very imperfect acquaintance with the language must needs prevent the practical success of the experiment, even though it were proved to be theoretically correct. Accordingly I added to my personal equipage a camp chair, a piece of carpet, which serves as a chair for as many people as can sit on it, a camp table, a cooking canteen containing all sorts of wonderful things in the smallest possible space, a supply of bread, meat and rice for curry, my india-rubber bath (? Missionary simplicity) and started forth prepared for any fortune. On the way out there was a little village school to visit, so I sent on my servant, a Christian boy, with the things, telling him to get breakfast ready at the Dak Bungalow and cast his eyes about for some other suitable lodging in the village. . . . After examining the village and trying to talk to a little knot of the more important men of the place (small farmers who were gathered together chatting, there being little to do at this time of the year in the farm, and an absolutely illimitable flow of conversation being possessed by all these people) I made my way back to the main road, and soon found myself under shelter of the Dak Bungalow, and quite ready for the breakfast my boy had prepared.

“The search for the room seemed to have resulted satisfactorily. In the very centre of the little Bazaar a lodging was pronounced as procurable. . . . There was an old gateway opening on to a sort of courtyard in the very middle of the village street, which we had always chosen as the site of our preaching; entering this and ascending a staircase on to the roof of the shops in the street, I discovered six little rooms in a row, looking more like stables than anything else, each about sixteen feet long by seven feet broad, quite empty and clean looking, a door in the middle at the back for entering at and two opening on to a tiny verandah over the street. It was the very thing. This I therefore engaged at the extensive rent of R1 (1/8) for as long as I wished to stay not exceeding five days, and sent for my things. . . . After visiting the Chamar Christians in their Busti I took my stand about 5 p.m. by the side of the Catechist beneath the archway, and heard him deliver a discourse. . . . In the middle of a little conversation which developed I managed to slip in as best as I could that, though unable to preach to them yet, I should be very glad to see any one who would call on me.

“After the preaching I sent off the Catechist and retired to my quarters, ordering dinner and sitting down to begin this letter to you. I had not finished the first page when, to

my intense surprise, I looked up and saw three men standing in the doorway—two of them as fine men, and with as good faces as you would meet in England.

"I welcomed them, and kicking off their shoes they came in and sat down on the carpet. We soon fell a-talking, as they had come up all prepared with some questions. Not much came of our conversation for two chief reasons—one was that the two big ones were Hindus of a tribe called Châttés, who brought in so many Hindi words that I could scarcely understand a sentence they said. And still more fatal was the other difficulty that the third was a Mahommedan, and though Mahommedans and Hindus, leaving religious questions on one side, may sometimes unite against a foreigner, yet on religious questions the Mahommedan has necessarily a far greater affinity to the Christian than to the Hindoo. Consequently no sooner had one party got his objection satisfactorily stated than the other was up in arms at such a horrible idea, and they fell to fighting with such a will that it was with the utmost difficulty I sometimes managed to get in a word. . . . They retired after some time . . . but with a promise (whether to be fulfilled or not time must show) to come again to-night, and every night I stop here. I think possibly they will, as I learn to-day the Hindoos were two of the chief men of the place who have some money and plenty of time on their hands."

HIGHER EDUCATION

But the Mission had soon to face a big problem. Representing a great English University they were surely called to help in Higher Education. There had been a Government College in Delhi but closed some four years ago, and it had been, of course, on a secular basis. The Government put out feelers to the Cambridge men to discover what they would undertake. Would they open classes for those who desire to take the B.A. degree? Would they in that case confine themselves to Christian students, or welcome all? Perhaps in the dim distance some had begun to inquire whether the Mission would be responsible for a complete College. The following letters give Lefroy's attitude :

"Delhi : May 26, 1880.

"The Bishop has been strongly urging us to open a University College here to train men up to the Degree

standard. It is an immensely large and difficult subject. Once again, pray for us. If we do open we must strain every nerve to make it the best in this part of India. There is no reason ultimately why it should not be the best in India."

"Delhi : June (or July), 1880.

"Difficult questions are pressing on us for solution. The last is the relation which we are to assume towards the old Delhi College which was shut up some four years ago by Government orders, chiefly for lack of funds, and is now being opened again by a sort of joint movement of chief Natives, chief Englishmen, privately, and Government. They would be glad enough to get hold of one or two of us as lecturers, partly perhaps because they are not very flush of money, partly because the name of the thing would help them at least at starting. It's hard to see what to do. On the one hand, we are distinctly pledged by our position to influence in any way we can the highest education of the native boys, and so if we don't throw ourselves into this movement we seem to me pledged to open another College of our own for the boys from our own school. On the other hand, neither of these courses is free from serious objection. In a Native College our position as Missionaries must be more or less anomalous, might become untenable if (as is too often the case out here) the European at its head were a professed Sceptic. On the other hand, a College of our own would be a formidable undertaking involving some expense, much trouble and responsibility, and possibly a decided severance of those chiefly engaged in it from other work because of the extreme difficulty of mastering the Urdu language if constantly teaching in English."

Two years later the responsibility was accepted.

"Delhi : March 7, 1882.

"I found an important piece of news awaiting me on my return to Delhi, namely that the long-awaited-for final answer from Government had come at last about the College, and was wholly satisfactory, as they grant us the whole sum in aid we had asked for—£45 a month and £200 for purchase of scientific apparatus, and it ended by thanking us for the promptness with which we had accepted their proposals in the cause of higher education in the Punjab. So we are fairly in for it now. It is really a most solemn step, and it is a terrible thought that possibly we may not be in the right after

all, in so far at least that one may be giving up one's life to a line of work which though good in itself is not as good, as productive, as others might be. This is B.'s view and the view I know of many wise and good men. But A. and I have been comforting ourselves with the thought that we have by no means sought this enlargement of our work, but it has come to us gradually and from outside, while we have been strongly urged by many whom we respect, and notably our Bishop who is entirely a missionary at heart, to take it up. I pray and trust that God's Holy Spirit may be guiding us into that path which he sees best for us. . . . It will be of course our ground for another and urgent appeal to Cambridge for at least one more man. May he be granted to us. . . . The Bishop is with us, working round Delhi as his head centre."

Thus there came into existence an Institution which has for years been a boon to India and a cause of pride for Cambridge. I give a few instances of the indirect but precious results of the influence exerted over those who were not Christians.

Extract from one of the College boy's letters.

1883.

"I cannot find words to express the kindnesses and favours you have shown all times to me, and for which I am indebted to you for the whole of my life. The moral education which has been sown by your and Mr. Lefroy's lectures cannot vanish and will serve a good part in the remainder of my years and on my part I will also try to attain that high aim you were discussing in the lectures."

A humorous touch.

"Delhi: Sept. 1, 1883.

"This morning we had our prize distribution. The only direct share I had in the work to-day was in the speech which was one which Dr. Westcott had very kindly sent out for the occasion and the translation of which had been entrusted to me. If you know anything of his ordinary style you will recognise that the translation of it was likely to be a task of some magnitude: but really in the present instance it was on the whole an easier job than might have been expected, for he had so completely out-Heroded Herod that very few of us could make out much of the *English*, which left me the more free to follow the bent of my own sweet imagination, which I did to a pretty considerable extent."

After a letter referring to two students.

"Delhi : January 15, 1884.

"I was very much struck myself with the attitude of these same two boys a short time ago—since this happened. It was in our Scripture lesson where we are doing our Lord's miracles. I found them really pleading with me (I scarcely think I can use any other word) to let them hold to Jesus Christ as the highest type of humanity that ever existed and to which they should try most entirely to conform their own lives but without accepting the Divinity and consequent present Lordship.

"Of course I had to tell them frankly that I believed the position *could* not stand in the long run—that all which they so admired in Him and were so ready to accept was so bound up with His more mysterious teaching about Himself and with the claims that He makes on our allegiance that the day must come for any thoughtful mind when he must definitely face these claims and either accept them and go forward to a full faith, or reject them and say that his previous estimate had been mistaken, for that character could not be thought blameless or otherwise than most fearfully presumptuous and blameworthy which being only man would yet make Himself out God. One cannot, I believe, be wrong in definitely insisting on this from the first."

Delhi climatic conditions.

The summer in Delhi is often dreaded both by Europeans and also by Indians from other regions. The winter is delightful and bracing, but there is something about the summer heat which makes the sun one's enemy. In St. Stephen's Hospital, whilst an inmate myself, I was told that in summer there are days when most of the patients have to be "packed" in cold water, or ice if procurable. Lefroy took the matter with complete good humour.

"Delhi : May 21, 1881.

"At present we have just entered the 90s in our rooms, but hitherto any great heat has always been driven off by a dust-storm. These latter are novel experiences to me for though we had one or two last year, still they were always at mid-day when we were all in the house. This year they have come just at the outing time 5-6 p.m. I have been caught in three and certainly they are very unpleasant. After a dull quiet afternoon, something like that which precedes thunder,

you see a dark cloud rising on the horizon—this at first looks like rain but as it gets very quickly nearer you see that it is not quite the colour of rain, too brown, and then in a moment it is on you, a high wind and a cloud of dust absolutely darkening everything—so that lamps have to be lighted—dashing the sand and gravel into your eyes, mouth, nose and ears—and penetrating into every corner of the house. It is really a more or less painful experience to be caught out in one, but they lighten the air and reduce the temperature.”

“Delhi : August 13, 1881.

“I hear it has been up to 98 in the shade in London—that’s pretty hot certainly. I can’t say what it would be here. W. put his thermo out one day in his verandah, a deep verandah on which the sun had not yet fallen, and at 120 degrees it expired, burst. We haven’t repeated the experiment. And you must remember that we have had nothing like the heat this year we had last.

“The fact of the matter is it is the wind which makes all the difference. One gets a hot muggy day in England, hot just because there is no breeze, but whatever breeze does come is always so far an alleviation. With us you know it is just the opposite, and our most dreaded enemy is the Lulu—the furnace blast which comes all across the sand deserts of Scind and Rajputana and gives us the benefit of it all. We have scarcely had it this year : not at all at night, which is the most trying thing, though once or twice when I had to go out before the evening it made one catch one’s breath with a funny sort of feel.”

By way of contrast let me insert a letter from the Himalayas. The hills were Lefroy’s delight and refreshment. I think it was his first trip. For obvious reasons I have omitted names.

“— Bungalow : October, 1881.

“It is just over three weeks since we left Delhi for the hills and a very pleasant time it has been. After spending a week in Simla drinking in the air and trying to get one’s mountain legs a little bit (which go most hopelessly in the plains where, as you know, not only is the country itself for the most part as flat as a table, but there isn’t so much as a stair in the houses to keep you in training), we started for the interior of the Himalayas.

“We set out on September 21, having just three weeks to get 140 miles in and as many back again . . . our road has

been running, not through British territory but through the possessions of one of the many little Rajahs who abound in these hills—twenty-four of them being under the supervision of the Deputy-Commissioner of Simla alone! He gave us a letter to the Rajah — informing him that two distinguished travellers were coming through his dominions and expressing a hope that every consideration would be shown to them. On reaching the Rajah's capital—a village somewhat smaller and infinitely less respectable than Loughbrickland—we presented our credentials. At that time we were not able to see him (for he was under the influence of drink) but his prime minister sent us a letter ordering all loyal subjects on pain of heavy punishment to supply us liberally with milk, eggs and fowl—the last two being abominations in their eyes as articles of food—and to offer us no annoyance: and what was more to the point, a man was sent with us for the rest of our journey to see that we got what we wanted.

“On our return journey we found him sober, though how we were to see him seemed a difficulty, as we got in late at night and proposed to be off by 6.30 the next morning, as we had a double stage to do and even in the hills the sun has to be avoided as much as possible: however, we had heard that the Rajah was always very eager for a chat with Englishmen—especially that he might find out the correct time and readjust his watch—so we were not very much surprised when, just as we were starting at 6.30 from the bungalow (or rest house) in which we had spent the night, we heard cries of ‘Máharáj: Saláam, Saláam,’ and were informed that his Highness was at hand. It was somewhat early for a royal visit and the extent of the furniture which the bungalow could supply us with was three hopelessly broken and decrepit old chairs; however, we arranged them as we best might in the verandah and received the little man. He came up carried in a sort of sedan chair raised on the shoulders of eight men. It is probably the only means of conveyance he has, and there is not a road in his whole territory on which a wheeled vehicle could go. He is a sharp looking little fellow, by no means wanting in dignity, and talks capital English. It was not long before an enormous old turnip (watch) was produced with great care, and he inquired solemnly of each of us, ‘What is the time by your Honour's watch?’ He was much satisfied to find that he was approximately right—his watch having been set the day before by two other Englishmen whom we had met before seeing him. He then proceeded to inspect my gun, and begged four or five cartridges of me! I thought as a prince I could not give him

less than a dozen, whereat he was much delighted. . . . We had a very pleasant march of about 13 miles last night all along the valley of the — by bright moonlight. The sun is really a terrible drawback even to walking in these hills. At least I don't much mind it, especially if one can keep at an elevation of over 7000 or 8000 feet ; but now we are down in a valley of only about 3000 and E. B. being seedy we have to keep close literally the entire day, never crossing the threshold till the sun sets in the evening. . . . Each night we reached a bungalow to sleep in, but whether you got a bedstead or not was a chance—though, in fact, I have only slept twice on the floor (we had a travelling bedstead for E. B.), and the servant whom we brought with us as cook was new to the work, and though he did his best, did not reach any very high standard."

CHAPTER IV

THE LEATHER WORKERS OF DELHI

IT will be understood that the Cambridge Mission were called to arrange, on their arrival, how their own work should dovetail into that of the Rev. R. R. Winter, which was supported by the S.P.G. and formed part of regular Diocesan schemes. The Cambridge men took over responsibility for Bazaar preaching, the charge of St. Stephen's High School, the Christian Boys' Boarding School, and the superintendence of three out of the eight divisions in the city, and three out of eight out-stations.

It will be seen, therefore, how it came about that Lefroy was brought into close connection with the Chumars or leather workers. They are a low caste community and have been in the past ill educated. They live in "Bustis" (dwelling places), but the term at Delhi, at all events, had come to be confined to "little groups of houses in which the poorer castes live by families or clans." As soon as Lefroy could be relieved from High School work he eagerly turned to the Chumars, and meanwhile he was generally preparing himself for the harder and far more intellectual duty of the Moslem problem. The following letter takes us step by step through a day or two of a missionary journey in India :

" Mehrowli (in the Delhi District):

" Begun New Year's Eve, 1881, 11 p.m.

" I am out here once more with B. in the same village and indeed the same room from which I wrote last year when I was settled here alone for a few days, trying to get close to and more intimate with the people than one can when living in state in Dak Bungalow. Our attempt has not this time proved very successful in the matter of attracting visitors and

inquirers, for I don't think one has come near us since we have been here, but notwithstanding I do not think that even from this point of view our trouble in coming here has been wasted, for we have at any rate done what in us lies to come to them and give them an opportunity of getting at us, and even if they do not at once avail themselves of it, I cannot but think that it must in time suggest a difference in the relation which we wish to occupy towards them from that of the Government officials—with whom at present we are terribly liable to be confounded—and help them to understand that we come bearing a weighty message which we would press on their acceptance. Meantime, though visitors do not take up as much of our time as we could have wished we are not altogether idle. . . .

"I think it might amuse you and give you a little idea of the very varied conditions under which we have to carry on our work here if I just gave you a sketch of our morning's work. I will take yesterday. After breakfast at 7.30 I started off alone this time, as the Catechist had to stop and make preparations for a supper which we wished to give a little congregation here in the evening—taking a cross-country path which I was told would lead me to two or three villages. The first signs of habitation I reached after about an hour's walk was a Hindoo temple with its customary little red flag waving from the branches of the sacred tree under which it stood. On entering the enclosure I found myself face to face with the Faqir or Indian monk. He was a very fine looking man and told me he was one of four who lived together in a kind of monastic life, the other three being at the time out begging their daily supplies. This much I got from him, but his dialect was so hopelessly bad, to my ears at least, that I felt any further attempt at conversation would be but time thrown away, so I bade him good morning and went my way. The next place I came to about half a mile further on was a Hindoo village. Here, however, there were very few men as there happened to be a good well in the neighbourhood from which they were engaged in watering their fields, and as the one or two who were about did not seem at all to relish my visit I once again moved on. As I was walking to the next village I met a Faqir returning from his morning round of begging, and conjecturing that he was one of those whose home I had visited, I accosted him, and finding his speech rather more understandable I had some talk with him. He told me that the man whom I had seen at their temple was the Guru or teacher and the others were merely disciples, and he claimed for his Guru

the power of miracles, saying that if he laid his hands on any sick person he recovered.

"It is remarkable how deep-rooted and widespread is the recognition of miracles as an almost essential evidence of a heaven-sent teacher—so that they have to be invented when not really present. He incidentally stated that he understood we were great sun-worshippers! How this idea got abroad I cannot say—whether from some one who noticed the identity of sun and Sunday or otherwise. In the next village I reached I found some men loitering about and as they seemed ready for a chat I sat down on the steps of an old stone tomb which occupied the centre of their little square, and soon had a little group of listeners round me. These turned out to be Mussalmans—of the Shiah sect however, while it is the other great sect who immensely preponderate in Delhi—the Sunnis. When they found out definitely what I was after there was some inclination, especially on the part of the elders of the group, to decline the religious discussion, suggesting that I had better go to Delhi, where I would find educated men in plenty ready and worthy to discuss it with me and not waste my time on poor unlettered villagers like themselves.

"It is really very characteristic this shrinking from discussion on the articles of their faith on the part of the Mussalmans when contrasted with the Hindoos, who are ever ready to hear and discuss any view which may be put before them, however new or strange it may be, or however hostile to their own beliefs or ideas. However, I persuaded them with some difficulty that this was by no means a subject for learned men alone, but rather for every one to whom God has given a soul to be saved, and the power of thought to seek out the way of salvation.

"After this we got on very well together, and they were especially struck with the story of the raising of Lazarus . . . our friendship was cemented by a good bowl of milk, which they offered me when I was getting up to go away, and which I was very glad to accept, both for its own sake and for the sake of those who gave it, for they are by no means hospitable as a rule in this sort of way in these parts—at least the Mahomedans are not; perhaps the Hindoos, who must be largely trained to it by that giving to Faqirs which forms so integral a part of their religion, are more ready givers.

"I was also pleased at the very unusual privilege of being allowed to drink it out of the actual vessel of the donor. . . . Another tramp across fields looking very brown and dry and

I come to a third village. Hindoo this time. Again I produce my book and sit down, but fail practically to get an audience—a cart, with a broken wheel, which has just been brought in for repair, proving quite too strong a counter-attraction. And now I knew I was near the end of my morning's walk, for I had been all the time steering for a village in which we had previously had a little school amongst the poor Chumars, who form the largest section of the community in this village, as indeed they do in most of the villages around, if they can be said to form a section who are rigidly shut off from all contact or intercourse with the other farmer inhabitants, living in a part of the village which is set aside for them, and into which one of the higher caste will never put his foot any more than these may enter the farmer's quarters: the very children I believe never mix in play.

"It was just before entering this village that I had a striking proof of the tremendously adverse influence which our connection with these despised Chumars exercises on all our attempts at contact with the higher classes. It is, of course, a fact for which we must be deeply thankful, that the Gospel has obtained some entrance at least—even if it be so far a most weak and uncertain one—into one of the great classes of this country, but when this class is the lowest of all it is impossible to shut one's eyes to the fact that the very success in one quarter raises up in all others one more and most formidable obstacle to be added to all those which already make our work in this country seem so almost humanly hopeless. For when, as is my usual custom before going into the Chumar quarter, I went up to a little group of farmers who were sitting chatting together and tried to enter into conversation with them, they just looked at me for a moment to make sure of my identity, and then told me most bluntly that they did not want me, I had better go to my friends the Chumars. And how much such rudeness means out here—how far more than it would in England—one sees when one remembers how naturally polite even to servility all the Hindoos are to any superior, and how intensely so to any of that wondrous race of Sahibs who, in some of the more remote country districts at any rate, are to them little less than the gods come down in the likeness of men. Of course, I had nothing left but to follow their advice, so I turned aside to the Chumars, and after a little talk with my brother in the Faith I set out homewards, and reached it somewhat tired and hungry about 12.30."

The three letters that follow adequately define the problem among low caste people in India :

"Delhi : June 10, 1882.

"We had a Council meeting yesterday evening, and at it a plan was proposed for discussion in which I take a deep interest. It concerned our poor Chumar Christians. You know how often I have told you of their unsatisfactory state. . . . One obvious cause of difficulty and falling is the close contact which they keep with their heathen surroundings. You see this is a temptation which does not assail the better class convert because he knows that, whether he likes it or not, the day he receives Baptism (or at least—for in some, though not in many cases, there is a curious distinction observed—the day he partakes of the Holy Communion) he will be cut off from kith and kin, and the doors of his own and all his relatives' and friends' houses will be closed upon him for ever—at least this is slightly exaggerated, for after a time, some years, if the man settles down quietly and respectably, and really lives a consistent Christian life, he wins his way back to a certain extent—though only to a slight one—among his old surroundings—though, of course, in the matter of food the Rubicon is absolute and unalterable. . . . All this difficulty, however—which however trying for the convert, is yet in one sense of the highest value as testing his real sincerity—is wanting in the case of our low caste Christians. . . . These poor fellows being all utterly out of caste as it is (and also perhaps influenced in greater or less degree by the current representation of Christianity to which I have already alluded) have never 'closed the pipe and water,' as the phrase is, for expelling from caste fellowship. Consequently our Christian converts live in the same Busti cheek by jowl with the heathen, see their lives, hear their songs, mix in their feasts and amusements, and altogether so completely identify themselves, or rather continue their old identification with them, that it is well-nigh impossible to even hope for better things so long as this lasted. The best of them are just beginning to feel that their life is not quite what it ought to be ; but, as one of them said to me, 'We really are not strong enough to shut our eyes and close our ears when some wandering Faqir comes and sits down in the middle of our Busti exactly opposite our door and sings his songs and performs his idol worship. We must look on, and if it is amusing and interesting we almost must take a part.' And it's quite true—especially considering what babes in knowledge and spiritual life they still are.

"Of course the obvious remedy for all this is to segregate one's Christians and make them live somewhere together apart from the heathen ; but, on the one hand, in places where this has been tried it has by no means always succeeded (owing, I cannot help thinking, rather to want of management and skill than to any inherent fault in the plan, but anyhow producing an exotic, weakly non-self-propagating Christianity); and on the other, W. has been so dead against anything of this sort that we have never been able to think of it practically. It is exactly —'s theory that if they are a *little* better—if they be but farthing dips—still they will do something to lighten the darkness around, and that anything like sharp distinctions between Christians and non-Christians (as they are euphemiously called) was above all things to be avoided. A good deal of it is very true, and no doubt other Missions have, so far as we can judge, often gone to the other extreme, but after all one feels that if you expose a farthing dip on a stormy night there is another alternative possible besides that of illuminating the darkness in however slight a degree. At any rate, we have come more and more to think that something of this sort must be done if any progress is to be made. . . . Anyhow the scheme of a Christian Busti has been brought forward and theoretically approved of by the Council, though for further consideration the matter has been deferred till next month, during which time we must try and obtain some details and think over practical points—for of practical difficulties I need not say there are many. First of all, there is the initial outlay. There is a good suitable piece of ground for sale at one rupee a square yard, and we might take 1000 yards or so of this to begin with if we can get the money . . . and even when this initial difficulty is overcome there will be plenty left behind—chief among these the collection of rent, for on the one hand, of course, the thought of all these poor people will be 'What does the Padre Sahib with his horse and carriage want with my few pence?' and yet, on the other hand, we are firmly persuaded that to admit them without any rent, or to make it only nominal, would be the most certain way of lowering the tone and strength of the Christian life of the Busti. Christian paupers are about as poor as most other paupers. All this has to be settled somehow or other, and I trust we may have wisdom given to us to settle it aright."

"Delhi : August 12, 1882.

"There is a little colony of our poor Chumar Christians here for whom we had a service on the Sunday morning,

when I preached to them on St. James, whose day had just come, leaving his father, nets, etc., to follow Christ. Poor people, it is little idea they have at present, I fear, of self-sacrifice or any kind of sacrifice for Christ, the chief idea seeming to be what they can make by the profession of His Name, and worse still, one hardly sees how they are to get any idea of anything else when they see us who preach to them of self-denial living as Sahibs ourselves. It is hard indeed to know what one ought to do in such matters, but I suppose the best way is to strive and pray for a better spirit of self-denial for oneself and them, and believe that somehow or other it will be given. The middle of Sunday was not the pleasantest part of my time, for work goes on on the new line on which M. is engaged just the same as other days, and the bustle and stir of work was not helpful. It is more or less of a difficult question, though there is no doubt that it could quite easily be settled in the right way if only the authorities chose to have it so. Of course, in laying out railways, etc., the great part of the actual work is given out to native contractors who work with native gangs. These protest that they cannot keep their men idle on Sunday or their contract will fail; accordingly the arrangement is supposed to be that these may go on working through the Sunday, but that any European who wishes may take the day free; but, of course, this in point of fact means nothing for as these tell you 'If work is to go on in one part of a system it must go on throughout, and it can't go on without the directing and responsible heads being present—if it does it merely comes to undoing on Monday all the work done on Sunday.' This is obvious, and every one knows that the only way of really getting the Sunday for any is to compel it on all, in so far at least as the suspension of all Government or public works compels it—allowing for such extra delay in the contracts; but this means increased expense, and there's the rub. So the result is that no general order is given in the matter, but it is left in each Department or each piece of work for the head to arrange this as he likes, and unfortunately the executive Engineer of this new line does not the least care for Sunday himself, so doesn't want any one else to care for it, or get it if they do care for it; but it is not exactly what one conceives of as suitable to hear, as I did, M. telling a Hindu contractor, 'Now remember, whether you like it or not, you must keep open all Sunday.' However, I believe M. makes it as much as he can a quiet day with his wife. In the evening we had Urdu Service at 6

without a sermon, and English with one at 7.30, in the room of the Zenana Mission House: there was a nice little congregation including one or two well-educated English-speaking Hindoos."

Employment for Indian Christians.

"Jan. 23, 1882.

"I want to explain a little why it is so necessary to provide in every possible way an outlet for Christians—in other words, why the existing outlets are so small and insufficient even for the moderate number of claimants that there are. The fact is that almost all the professions, and all the trades, such as we mostly understand them, are closed to them; and this for the simple reason that before you can be a master in any trade you must be an apprentice; but an apprenticeship is just what our native Christians can't get. And here one ought to remember that it is not only the religious difference which makes a master unwilling to take a Christian apprentice, but it is also the immemorial laws of caste usage which make it practically imperative on the son to follow the profession of his father whatever that may be, and so to take a young outsider, of whom they know nothing, is just what our Aryan brethren of this country are never asked to do, and never do. . . . The chief outlets at present for Christians are two—the printing presses, which require a large number of young hands, and being chiefly in Government or Mission hands are open to all; and employment in the Mission in some way or other; but, obviously, the one of these is as unsatisfactory as the other is insufficient. I mean to say that the presses must soon, and indeed it seems that they have already got their full complement, while one sees at once that many a man may be called to be a Christian and yet not be fitted to put forward as a representative of Christianity before his fellow-countrymen, in the way in which he is when he becomes a paid agent of the Mission; not to speak of the ready imputation of bad motives to which they are laid open by the fact of so often obtaining a position and income better and far more assured to them than theirs was before their Baptism. It is under some such circumstances as these that we have thought it right to try and open one more outlet for our native brothers in the Faith. Domestic service. It must, of course, at best be a very diminutive one, but if it were only a dozen or so that we could dispose of in as many years still this would be better than letting the same number go to the bad just because they have nothing to do."

In 1884 Lefroy reviewed the work of the Mission to the Chumars in a letter to Dr. Westcott, which was printed as an "Occasional Paper," but now out of print. It is too long to reprint here, and I proceed to give the substance of it. First, he meets the criticism that it was not the business of the Cambridge Brother to work among the low castes. He replies that the circumstances were such as to make this step inevitable. They found an over-burdened Mission which had been in existence twenty years. From 1877 up to 1881 there had been large accessions owing probably to famine. They found some eight hundred persons who were supposed to be Christians, but who could only be so termed in a most superficial sense. The so-called Christians of this class were entangled with caste in all their old customs. They could not be left in that condition without scandal to the Mission, and without incurring probably the criticism of educated Hindus and Moslems. Secondly, how could these so-called Christians be helped? Mr. Winter had persistently held that they ought to be left with their caste relatives and neighbours to act as leaven. He was not in favour of segregation. On the other hand, the Cambridge men, after two years' observation, considered that the leaven was such only in name, and would soon lose its character, and that some form of segregation must be attempted. Mr. Winter gave his consent to the experiment, and Lefroy proceeded to create Christian Bustis at Daryaganj. At the same time he was quite aware of the danger of fostering an exotic growth not fitted to battle with success against surrounding temptations. A little square of eight houses was built and Christian families were admitted on condition that they observed three rules: (1) to observe Sunday as a rest day; (2) to use Christian rites exclusively at times of birth, marriage, and death; (3) to abstain from the use of "charas" (drugs). The families established themselves in the Busti. Then in due time came the clash with the old-time customs, and it was necessary to take some drastic step in order to make the dividing line clear between the old life and the new. The plan adopted was to hold a Panchayat—a meeting, well understood in Indian life. Lefroy gives a graphic picture of the scene, full of dramatic incidents. The two forces met half an hour

after midnight, with the European missionaries as spectators. The lights were little flickering points, but these were sufficient to illumine faces engaged in controversy, subtle, endless in length. So the hours passed. The Europeans would not intervene. It was for Indian Christians to settle their position against the others. Finally a bowl of Ganges water was introduced by the caste people, and all were asked to lift it up as an act of worship if they still adhered to the caste. When daylight came the remnant was small, but these at 7.30 a.m. went into their chapel for worship. The exhausted missionaries returned, convinced that it was their duty to obtain reality at the cost of losing thereby the merely nominal adherents.

I print here for convenience, and to emphasize the determination of the Mission to sustain reality, two letters written three years afterwards.

"Delhi : April 12, 1887.

"In our Mission Council this morning we discussed a question which has been looming in the distance, has only been staved off so long by R. R. W.'s reluctance to touch it, and must, as every one knows, come sooner or later. Do you at all realise the principle involved in the big night meeting in Daryaganj of which I wrote an account in an Occasional Paper? Out of the many baptized Christians who were living in the old ties and customs of the old Chumar brotherhood a few determined, as the only way of attaining to any kind of really Christian standpoint, to definitely sever all connection with the old Brotherhood. These constitute the inmates of my 'Bastis.' It was, of course, hoped at the time that this example would be followed by many more. Sad to say it has not been so, and year by year we are becoming more conscious of the dead weight round our necks in all further efforts for the spread of Christ's kingdom which the pressure of such a mass of absolutely nominal Christians is. The time is therefore coming very near when we (not the Padres only, but the body of the Christian Church here which has in any degree attained to a higher life) must take measures to call upon these men to do one thing or other, either to confess themselves Chumars, and have their names struck off our lists and be no more recognised as Christians, or to come out as Christians in some more or less real way. That it will, of course, mean the lapse of a great number there can, I fear, be no doubt; but

indeed lapse is not the right word to use, when it is no actual fall, but a simple realisation and honest declaration of a state of things which has existed all through. . . . We bring the matter before our Easter Vestry next Tuesday, and start the ball thus."

"Delhi : May 3, 1887.

"We are having a good deal of stir just now in various ways. First of all, there is the movement towards discipline among our poor Chumar Christians, to which I alluded in some previous letter. It will mean a great searching of hearts, and the lapse, I fear, of the vast majority of our present nominal Christians ; but, terrible as such a remedy must be, I do from my heart of hearts believe that it is better than our present state, and indeed, under the circumstances, the condition of any internal growth or onward progress. But besides this there are beginning to be signs, I feel almost sure, of something stirring among our College students. There are at present two definite cases on : one a Hindu who has been reading privately with A. for some time, and is now, I think, trying to make up his mind for the wrench of Baptism ; the other, a more remarkable one, a young Parsee (than whom as a race there are scarcely any stronger opponents of Christianity) who is high in his class in the College, and a few weeks ago was deeply stirred, chiefly as far as we can make out by the 51st Psalm, and is coming to W. wanting almost immediate Baptism. It is a terrible thing to say, and to have to feel, but in all cases out here one *has* under the sad teachings of experience to ask is there any possible underlying motive (other than the apparent one) one cannot tell ; there does not in this case seem to be. But whether or not we have any disappointment in the case of these individuals, which I trust in God's mercy we may not have, they may still, I believe, be taken as first signs of a coming movement. It will be a very great privilege if we are permitted so soon to see definite incomings of our labour. Of course it may very possibly not be so, but the thought of it helps to invigorate one for a stronger, more earnest life."

"Delhi : May 28, 1887.

"We had the big Panchayat of which I spoke in my letter to H. C. C. on Wednesday last about 6-10.30 p.m. It was certainly a very momentous occasion, and I hope to tell you more about it some day. In numbers it was even worse than any of us, I believe, had contemplated. Out of a nominal roll of 500 or 600 at least, about 50 or 60 were

present. These, however, made rather a firmer stand than we had expected. Practically, then, with a great sweep of the work of years we start again anew with this remnant. It seems a terrible thing, and one may well ask whether the evils of the present system could be great enough to justify such extreme action ; but I have myself no doubt whatever that it was right to do it, and I humbly and earnestly believe that the building up of a real congregation may be taken to date almost from this."

A scene at Kohat emphasises the same point. The letter is written many years later, when he was Bishop of Lahore.

Kohat : Feb. 1, 1905.

"A man had, after years of work and waiting on the part of the missionaries, come forward and asked for Baptism, and, as there is, alas ! no clerical missionary at this station, only two doctors, I was to baptise him, and a very memorable scene, for me at least, it was. Dr. Pennell much counselled the baptism to be in public and disabuse the people's mind of the common idea that we make a man a Christian by feeding him with swine's flesh and giving him beer to drink (their chief conception of an Englishman's religion !) and letting them see what baptism really is. Accordingly, it was to take place in the little open square in the centre of the village. The clouds were so threatening (there had been unusually heavy rain during the last week which made much of the going, frequently across fields, never on any proper road, very heavy for the horses, also the cold has been great, unlike anything I have ever before felt in India) that to the last moment we did not know whether the service could take place in the open ; but at last we sallied forth, armed with an umbrella for my protection if the rain should come down. Just as we entered the square a rather untoward little incident, tell it not in Gath, occurred. We had to cross a little bridge, the earth was slippery with the rain, and as I stepped down from it, heading the procession, remember in full vestments, my feet slid from under me and, without a chance of saving myself, I measured my length in the mud, *almost* into the stream, fortunately not quite. No harm was done whatever, though the Rochet did not look at its best. I rather dreaded the effect of the incident, as an omen, on the new convert ; but it was interesting to be told that it was sure not to strike the people in that light at all, because rain is so essentially the great blessing in this land that all connected with it, including apparently mud, slipperi-

ness and falls, is viewed as of evidently *good* omen. A funny point of view to us! Anyhow they were quite clear that the fact of rain falling on the day was so marked a sign of God's hand on us for good as more than to outweigh any such little incident as my fall.

"Then the Baptism took place, the man answering clearly and decidedly, and his two little boys, quite little, being baptised with him, while many of the villagers were gathered round the edge of the square, watching and listening keenly though saying nothing. It was an experience to thank God for."

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE IN MISSION SCHOOLS

IN 1883 Lefroy wrote another "Occasional Paper" on the above subject. It seems to me to be of permanent value. Nor do I know that further experience has tended in any way to modify what this young Cambridge man set down after three years' experience. Advisedly, I print full extracts on this subject in close juxtaposition with the work among the low castes. In both spheres, so utterly different, George Lefroy was evincing the qualities of a sane and trusted leader.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE IN MISSION SCHOOLS.

"I have been asked to put shortly on paper my impressions as to the moral influence which the system of Education that we are now pursuing is calculated to bring to bear on the boys attending our schools, and also as to the effects of it—if any—which may already have become discernible. . . .

"And first as to the opportunities which we have for forming any opinion on the subject at all. These are principally threefold—

- "(a) The Regular Religious Lesson with which we begin each day's work in school and college.
- "(b) The more personal and private interviews and conversations which we are able to have with a few of our pupils who come to us out of school hours for help, either in their regular subjects or more frequently in some extra piece of reading which they are taking up for themselves and which does not come into the course of the regular lessons.
- "(c) A prize essay which we set them—usually on some subject more or less directly religious—twice a year, and in which we try to elicit an honest statement of their own opinions. It is in this, of course, that we get the most direct assertions of beliefs and disbeliefs,

though there must always remain a question as to the value of such assertions representing truly and honestly the writer's mind.

"Of these the most important—as it is the most frequent and the most methodical—is probably the regular class lesson, and yet it is, perhaps for the very reason of its regularity, the one in regard to which I find it most difficult to form an opinion as to its probable or achieved influence.

"That it may be made thoroughly interesting—that it is very often quite the reverse is an opinion from which probably but few religious teachers of any country or any class will dissent, as also that the difference in this respect depends principally on the teacher, on his own interest in the work and the care and thoroughness with which he has prepared it for his pupils beforehand.

"That the generality of the boys and young men of this country show any special aptitude for or interest in religious teaching is an opinion from which I should be inclined to differ.

"It is, I believe, often said that the native mind is naturally religious, and there can be no doubt that it is so if by this is meant that they are greatly interested in and show a most remarkable aptitude for the Philosophy of Religion (by which I mean abstract speculation as to the Divine Essence, the nature of life, and such like), or for the outward ceremonial and detail of religion.

"Of this one meets with most abundant proof, not only in the more educated minds with which we come in contact in schools and colleges, but in the case of the commonest tradesman or mechanic who often interrupt the Bazaar preaching with a question of such metaphysical or speculative depth as would be, I believe, quite beyond the reach of the ordinary Englishman either to originate or appreciate, as they certainly are most difficult to answer. If, on the other hand, by 'religious' is meant that they are possessed of that acute moral sense which we believe to lie at the very foundation of all truly practical religion, there can, I think, be no doubt that Hindus and Mahommedans alike so far from being highly possessed of this lack it in an almost incredible degree. To this the Pantheism of the one and the absolute predestinarianism of the other most probably largely contribute, but whatever the causes may be the effect can scarcely be denied by any one who either meets them personally or is at all acquainted with their religious maxims or doctrines on the subject of sin.

"And further, in addition to this blunted sense of moral

responsibility, there is an aversion to, or at any rate an incompetence to appreciate, anything like Historical Evidences which often sorely troubles us when dealing with a religion essentially so historical as Christianity. It will therefore be seen that while in some respects we find greater receptivity, in others, and these perhaps more important ones, we find greater bluntness and want of interest than would usually be the case in England.

"And yet I hope that our work of these three years has not been altogether in vain. Allnutt has been occupied with a lengthy course on Natural Religion, the need of Revelation, the characteristics of a true Religion, and so on, while I have been engaged with Biblical subjects, at first parts of the Historical books of the O.T., and latterly the opening of the Epistle to the Romans. This last has certainly, as might have been expected, worked more interest than any of my previous subjects, but besides this there is, I think, a distinctly perceptible advance in the Hindus, who form the bulk of our senior class, in the definiteness of their perception of a present personal God—a belief almost wholly lacking to Hinduism—and in the one Mahommedan whom we have, in the recognition of the need of some high standard of morality, though at present he chiefly confines himself to moral maxims and advice, not realising their insufficiency and the need of their being backed by some practical and enabling power. I don't think one can say very much more about the daily lesson. . . .

"In the way of private intercourse I have personally seen most of two boys; the Hindu, of whom I have just been speaking, and the Mahommedan, to whom I have alluded as the only one in the uppermost class. Of the former I have not much to add to what I have already said. Our conversation did not often turn on directly religious subjects, though a book he showed me one day was an indication of the turn his thoughts were taking; it was a collection of essays by some of the leading Hindu reformers who are now making so much way in Calcutta and other places, and whose effort is to fall back from the corruptions of later Hinduism on the purer teaching of the Vedas. A letter we have just received from this boy is also interesting as showing the view he has taken of our religious instruction, especially just at the present time, when a Delhi local paper has been urging against us with great vigour that we compel the attendance of our students at religious services and teaching in opposition alike to the wishes of the parents and of the boys. He writes, and I believe, from his personal character, that he means much at any rate of what

he says, already quoted on p. 24: 'I cannot find words to express,' etc. The conclusion may verge on bathos, but I believe it is not the less genuine. . . .

"I don't think anything is left for me to say now, except to make a few quotations from the essays to which I have previously alluded, but first a word as to the object and nature of these. In many missionary schools it has been, and I suppose is, the habit, following in this the precedent of the great Duff, to instruct the boys thoroughly, not merely in the rudiments, but also in the deepest and most mysterious doctrines of our Christian faith, and then set questions, or an essay, intended to draw out the knowledge so imparted, it of course being understood that the scholars wrote from the head only, in no way expressing their own conviction or sincerely accepting the truth of what they, in many cases most ably, put on paper. Without expressing any opinion on this method I want it to be most clearly understood that it is not one which we follow ourselves. On the other hand, our chiefest endeavour is to elicit an expression of really honest opinion, whether or not it be in accordance with what we would fain see believed: this the very wording of the subject for our last essay sufficiently shows. It ran thus:

"In what way do you think it probable that Indian society will be affected as regards

- (a) Its prevalent modes of thought,
- (b) its religions,
- (c) its manners, customs, and beliefs, scientific or otherwise,

by the continuance and development of education on its present lines.'

"I need hardly say that we did not so stultify ourselves as to endeavour, either by suggestions of our own or by references to books, to supply them with an answer to a question so couched. Furthermore, I believe that the boys know we do want them honestly to say what they think, and that they are not the least more likely to get the prize if they say what is in accordance with our views than if they vigorously maintain the opposite. That this is so may, I think, be proved by a passage in one of these two essays where the writer defends on philosophical grounds the prevailing idolatry as practised by the more educated and thoughtful Hindus. He says,

"The native students maintain their belief in the worship of deities, on the reason that they do not worship them merely as stones, but as representing the figure of God in different incarnations, such

as Krishna, Rama, and Siva, preserving the unity of God under different names.'

"This, while from personal knowledge I believe it does thoroughly represent the writer's own standpoint, is hardly the line that would have been taken had it been sought to curry favour by an incipient Christianity. On the other hand, I do not mean to say that one can always be certain in the case of these writers, any more than of others, that they quite mean all they say. They may of course, as much as others, be induced by motives of supposed expediency to suppress opinions they really hold, or express others of which they are at best but half convinced. I merely want to point out what our own intention is in setting these essays, and I think the words I have quoted, as well as others, which will follow, show that that intention is to a large extent understood and acted on. Having said thus much I will now quote a few passages from each paper. The Hindu describing the spread of a more liberal and thoughtful spirit, says,

" 'The most important effect of the Western education is that the natives have begun forming societies in which they try to remove their social and customary abuses. As an illustration of the fact let us choose two chief castes of the Hindus, viz. Kayasth and Khattri. These two castes are generally more educated than others, and consequently the effect on their minds has been greater than on others. The Kayasths have formed a National Society in which different subjects are discussed for the improvement of mutual advantage, viz. the abolition of those customs which are superfluously expensive, the restrictions in the expense of marriage ceremonies and such other things. . . . These societies represent marked distinctions between the old men who are uneducated in Western sciences and the young educated students. The former wish to retain as far as possible the old customs, the latter wishing to abolish them and form new rules about them.'

"Again, as to the obliteration of sharp caste distinction in the matter of trades, he says,

" 'The distinction of caste or rather of trade-holders is quite gone away by the Western education. Previously every caste had its own profession, and was not allowed under any circumstances to alter it. Now when the Western education welcomed all kinds of persons whether high or low, the thoughts of each of them equally improved and they were left to adopt whatever line of trade they may choose or to improve their own.'

"Again, as to the decrease of superstition,

" 'The natives held and still hold superstitious thoughts in all

their actions. Whenever they go to some work or leave their home to go to some other city they looked for good omens, viz. whether it is a favourable time for them to do so or not. They consulted with the Monks or Faqirs about their future fate and considered them as supernatural persons who also pretended to foretell their fates and thus earned much money while apparently suffering very much by excessive hard life, by which they might be considered as being deeply engaged in the thought of God. The educated natives do not consider them in any respect higher than themselves, but on the contrary think them as wicked persons cheating the people and earning money by false means.'

" Remarking on the fact, that Hindus have been so far much more affected by Western education than the Mahommedans, he traces it to three causes : (1) The ignorance of their religion prevailing among young Hindus ; (2) The failure of historical or geographical proof ; (3) The inevitable result on native worship of even a slight acquaintance with science. Thus, he says,

" ' 1. The Hindu students in their school life have no knowledge whatever of their religion, and in that course of time (viz. boyhood) they go on to perform their religious ceremonies without knowing what they mean ; they simply obey the will of their parents in doing so, for some of these ceremonies seem troublesome and needless to the young student. When such is the condition of their knowledge of their own religion it is not very difficult that they can be made more doubtful about the truth of their religion by the well-developed and scientific education.

" ' 2. Another reason of their having become less superstitious or rather possessing opposite views of their religion is that Hinduism fails entirely to prove its historical evidences. There are great exaggerations in mentioning the geographical positions of the places which are the scenes of the great works of their religious heroes, or which are the worshipping places. These exaggerations are found to be utterly false by a very little knowledge of the Western education. The student is thus left to choose which side he likes, either he should leave his religion or he should not accept the testimonies of the great scientific explorers. As an example of the controversy between the Hindu religion and Western science we may state as follows. The Hindu Religious books teach that the source of the river Ganges is Heaven, and that it flows from the head of Siva. The truth of this legend can be easily rejected by the knowledge of the geography of India where we find that the Ganges derives its source from the Himalayan Mountains and pursues a regular course.

" ' 3. The worship of nature, such as fire, water, and rain, which is an essential part of the Hindu Religion, is not of much satisfaction to the educated students ; they have rejected it, or rather they can reject it by a little knowledge of Physics and Chemistry in which

they learn what these elements of nature are ; how they are guided by the established rules of cause and effect, and have no sense of being considered as things of worship.'

"He concludes with what is, I think, a very remarkable appeal for further information respecting Hinduism in order that he, and others in the like position, may have the materials necessary for a final decision.

"All the above arguments show that the Western education has decidedly disturbed the educated minds and weakened their belief in their own Religion. In the end it is better to say that if a little knowledge of Hinduism will be given to the native students it will remove all kinds of doubt which they possess and their minds will become clear. Either they will adhere to their own religion with firmness and will throw off the thoughts of swinging between the two, or they will entirely reject Hinduism and adopt any other religion in which they might find more truth and reasonable facts.'

"And now turning for a moment to the Mahommedan's essay, there are just a few points, I think, one may notice. Not many, for though it got the first prize, and is very decidedly better than the other as well in depth and arrangement of thought as in style, yet it contains fewer passages fitted, by definite allusion and distinct expression of opinion on matters of detail, for quotation in such a paper as this. Alluding to effects already achieved and due in his opinion to Western education, he says :

"Every one knows that it has raised the tone of the native Public Service, purified the native Bench and improved the native Bar, though more particularly in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras ; but these being parts of India and inhabited by our own brethren, we may hope the day will come when Upper India also will be on a level with them.'

"Again, he notes an improvement in tone and manner of thought among the people generally :

"The impurity and wildness of thought which have been for centuries notorious characteristics of our society are now dying out. Bear in mind that when I say they are dying out, I do not mean that they have died out. But still it (*i.e.* what has been already accomplished) is a great achievement of the English education, seeing that they were for many centuries the pith and point of our thoughts. The probability that this healthy effect is due chiefly to English education, arises from the consideration that the impurity and wildness began to lose their ground only when English education began to spread, *i.e.* it was only twenty years ago that they began to vanish.

Credulity has passed off, though leaving scepticism in its place as its deputy in many cases, especially with regard to Religion.'

"And further on as to the cause of this, on the whole, undoubted improvement :

"Then to what cause is this amelioration due? The answer is evident. To nothing else most probably than the influence of English education. The sense of duty, estimation of virtue, importance of truthfulness and honesty, love of their country, and liberty in thought, word, and deed, have begun to take the place of the old impurity and wildness in thought, and credulity of our society.'

"Deficiency in moral courage accounts for the results not being greater than they actually are :

"The reason why the above mentioned qualities and others like them have not yet begun to be displayed in public is, I believe, that the age of practice has not yet come, and the age of theory is still lingering, *i.e.* the age in which men rest satisfied merely with knowing the meaning and value of some good principles and do not act upon them, having got no mental courage enough to show them by actions.'

"The same is the case with religion :

"Still later (*i.e.* after Hinduism and Buddhism) they were thrown into doubt by having now Mahommedanism forced upon themselves, then Christianity presented to them ; but doubt alone could not have been sufficient to prevent them from deciding upon a pure religion, had they not been silenced by the base fear of being out-casted ; in other words, had they not been bound by the ties of caste-distinction—an intricate snare first laid down by the earliest selfish Brahmins, and then kept on firm by ignorance.'

"And the purely secular character of the Government teaching is further responsible for this :

"We must not expect too much from Indian society as to this point, seeing that an effect is adequate to its cause, in other words, bearing in mind that English education has been up to this time neither a religious nor a philosophical one, and hence imperfect. But religion is a matter of heart not of head ; it appeals to the heart alone which is improved and purified only by a religious and moral education. We are not, however, unaware of how much the missionaries here in India are doing towards it. Hence we are obliged, dividing the present education into two kinds, Government non-religious education and Missionary religious education, to treat of their effects separately. The effects of Government non-religious education lie chiefly in the direction of destroying the beliefs, directly or indirectly, of the natives, whether they be Hindus, Mahommedans, Bengalis, Punjabis, Sikhs, or Parsis. No one believes the Ganges as

coming down from heaven, or from a finger of some God therein, or eclipses as wrathful expressions of God's tumultuous contests, or some seven seas of delicious fluids as flowing round the world. Still such destructive effects are the first most necessary steps towards gaining *truth*. No one can appreciate truth adequately unless he knows the absurdities of falsehood.

"The effects of Mission religious education operate chiefly in two directions.

"(1) In that of edifying the natives of this country directly and indirectly, while at the same time it carries on its work of destruction more effectually. . . .

"(2) In the direction of creating in the hearts of the natives a strong desire for search after truth—a fact attested by the bustle of so many truth-searching societies as the Arya, Brahma, Prarthana Samajes, or as the Theosophical and Sayyid Ahmed Khan societies, which all clearly point to the strong desire to search for truth. As to the future probable effects of English education on Indian society with regard to religion, all the above facts combine to point out that the day will come when these numerous societies will find out one common universal truth by the light of Western enlightenment and decide upon it. The day will come when the natives of this country, getting sufficient moral strength from English education, will bid adieu to this age of theory and will publicly acknowledge what religious opinions they hold, and on what firm religious moral principles they act.'

"One more quotation and I have done, and this on the need of a higher family life.

"But as regards their family life the absence of two things is felt more painfully.

"(1) The absence of domestic warmth and happiness.

"(2) The absence of real order and wise management of household things and affairs.

"These are chiefly owing to the ignorant and degraded condition of our women, in which they are generally kept, though a few Hindu and Mahommedan families have begun to have their daughters educated by English ladies. But these families, few as they are, lead us to hope for and expect the day when Indian daughters will generally be found educated and enlightened like their Western sisters making their houses warm and happy.'

"On such passages as these I think I need say nothing. This much at any rate they show, that the long fallow ground is being—at least has commenced to be—broken up, and that seeds of deeper thought and higher aspiration are being sown. It remains only for us to pray that in His own good time the Lord of the harvest may give the increase."

CAMBRIDGE MISSION, DELHI.

February, 1883.

CHAPTER VI

HEADSHIP OF THE MISSION

ENOUGH has been said to prove George Lefroy's intellectual capacity. He possessed the power of growth, and was steadily exhibiting such signs of leadership that no one will be surprised that, though the youngest member of the original band, men began to speak of him as the head of the Mission when Bickersteth's resignation owing to ill-health had to be accepted. One subject, however, still has to be handled, the deeper question of spirituality and habits of devotion. In 1885 his father died, and portions of letters written in quick succession tell their own tale.

Just after hearing of his father's call home.

"Delhi : Dec. 15, 1885.

" . . . I don't know anything which has been as great a help to me during the last few years in deepening the inner life as death. As one after another of those dear to us pass through the veil it seems to be in a very real sense 'torn in twain,' and the other world becomes very real and present to us, and it is not only that we are able to keep hold of *them*, but by keeping hold of them we enter more and more into the consciousness of the Communion of Saints, and realise that we are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the Saints and of the household of God."

"Dec. 22, 1885.

"Two verses have come very much home to me during my reading this week, and have been a great help to me. The first seems to me to bear such a close reference to dear father himself at present. 'Blessed is the man whom Thou choosest and receivest unto Thyself. He shall dwell in Thy courts and shall be satisfied with the pleasures of Thy House, even of Thy holy Temple.' Isn't it a bright thought that our own

father is one of the last who has been so chosen and received, and is now entering into that perfect 'Satisfaction'—sharing in the worship of the Blessed ones, being changed from glory unto glory, and growing continually in the likeness to his dear Lord, and ours because seeing Him in open Vision as He is? It seems to me a very bright message, and if one can only realise it, it seems to put us so into touch with the unseen world now that we have such a great treasure there, and are granted in Christ to maintain our relation to him.

“ ‘ Round the altar Priests confess
If their robes are white as snow,
'Tis the Saviour's righteousness
And His blood that made them so.’

“ I do think really that as one after another of those we love pass in through the door to the other world they leave it—if we will, and by the grace of God—a little bit more ajar each time, and make it easier for us to go in and out and find pasture and refreshment in Christ. I am sure this is one way, at any rate, in which a beautiful thought of our dear old Bishop's, in a letter I have just got from him, is fulfilled. I think I must quote it to you. ‘On my journeys I trust it may be given me to bear you and yours in my heart in prayerful recollection and commendation to Him whose wellsprings of strength and comfort are not exhausted, though some of the purest streams which fetched and brought their refreshments to us seem for the present to fail us ; as to how far even these do fail us we know but little.’ But since they do, at any rate, seem to fail us, then comes in my other verse : ‘They thirsted not when He led them through the desert. Yea, He caused water to flow out of the rock for them. He smote the rock also and the water gushed out.’ Isn't that exactly how it is? It is the desert, and in one sense it must be so ; but it is a desert into which He has led us and therefore the desert itself shall ‘gush out with water’ for us, and what seems its very hardest places shall be ‘wellsprings of strength and comfort.’ You will not mind my just talking on like this. You can understand what a solemn and, almost, mysterious position it is to be in—just to know by the one telegram—or the two—that the dear father is no longer with us here below, but to know nothing more—nothing that would seem in any way, so to speak, to lead up to it and bring it into its true connection with the whole of life. You can imagine with what a solemn interest I wait your letters, now to note how the Master's call first made

itself heard, and then to learn whatever you can tell as to the end itself—the end which yet, as Phillips Brooks so insists, is not the *end of life*, but an *experience in life*.

"Your long and welcome Christmas letter reached me on the very day, the day which in some ways never seemed to have so deep a meaning as this year in its message of restored communion between heaven and earth, of the God-man linking the two natures into closest and most indissoluble union. I think we have special need this Christmas to turn from the outer more superficial aspect to the deeper, truer one, and thank God for that oneness in Him which was restored to us as on this day, and before which all separations can only be temporary, must have an end. And how continually the thought recurs in the Bible (rather is it not the one great underlying thought never really absent from a single page?) that it is in the presence of God, and in that alone, that we find really true and perfect rest, and that all our lives and our loves are strong and permanent and raised above the power of death just so far as they are lived and loved in God. 'My Presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest.' . . . Of all the notes given us of the heavenly life this is, I suppose, almost the most prominent and emphatic. 'They rest.' It is glorious to think of our own dear ones kept safe in that rest, under the wings of that love till we shall be permitted to join them there."

"Delhi: Feb. 9, 1886.

"I was very much struck a few days back by a talk I had with our leading native Christian, Pandit Janki Nath, formerly a Brahman of good position, but now our head schoolmaster, and a very earnest and devout Christian. He was saying that recently two or three deaths had occurred among his old relations, at which he had been present (for though, of course, cut off from ordinary social intercourse, they still recognise his relationship in various ways), and they had brought home to him as nothing ever had before, the special power of the Christian faith in the presence of death. He said it was only when he saw the absolutely unbroken gloom of death, its utter blankness and deep pathetic despair in the eyes of his Hindu relatives, that he realised what Christ had done for him in this respect, and how absolutely the very nature of death was changed to those who are in Christ. I can well imagine how intense and vivid the contrast must appear to such a man so placed, and how he would be able to enter into the 'I am He that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore, and have the keys of death.'"

There followed in due time a letter from the parishioners of Aghaderg asking whether "Mr. George" would follow his father as Rector. His answer was to be anticipated.

"Jan. 19, 1886.

"I have written just a few lines—not such as I would, but such as alone I could—to the dear people at home whose wish for me mother's last letter told me of. You do not need to be told what in substance my reply has been, and you would not, I know, any of you—in the deep of your hearts—have had it other, though from what it has been for me when I realised, less I fear for the parish than for the home, and the dear ones of home, what the alternatives meant, I know what the struggle has probably been for you, though I do not believe that any feeling of suspense will have been added, for you will have known so fully that I *cannot* go otherwise than as the Lord leads me, or leave the work to which, if we can read His calling at all, He has been calling me all these years past, and is still calling me. I won't say anything more about it, for you know all that lies behind what I say, and what it costs, even though, in God's mercy, there is scarcely the shadow—there is really not the shadow—of a doubt superadded to make decision still more difficult and painful. And I have also the unspeakable comfort of knowing that—even if others may possibly think differently—at any rate mother and you two are entirely at one with me in our wishes and in one's reading of God's guidance. It has been a very sad thought indeed to realise that the old home must go so soon, and that I must not look forward to find you there once more in July, if I am permitted to get away from here then; but I can only hope that in this, too, we shall be enabled to reach down and grasp the teaching which He has for us in it, and through the symbol find the reality and turn our hearts more closely than ever round Him Who is the one eternal home—the everlasting Rock."

"Jan 26, 1886.

"Following on father's death came this sorrow about home—first of all, just the realisation that I could never be in it as home with you all again, and then the necessity of finally making this certain by my own act. Then there came a great disappointment and trouble in my work here. I won't stop to tell you any details about it now; not so much because I do not wish to add sorrow to your sorrow, as because I think partly that I exaggerated it owing, perhaps,

in part to my mental attitude at the time, and already things seem beginning to pull round much better than I had hoped and thought possible ; and partly because I can now see very distinctly how it was part of the Father's loving dealing with me, to complete His work still further, and drive me back from *all* outer comforts or resting-places on His arm alone and His presence ; and then, lastly, there came, what may seem trivial, but is not so to me, at any rate, circumstanced as I then was, a slight attack of liver, very slight, but just sufficient to give that heavy drowsiness in the evening and early morning which, of all things, makes devotion most difficult, and at any rate destroys all the side of conscious comfort and satisfaction in one's prayers. This also, however, I now know was a part of the same loving discipline for me, and I can only trust that the time I then went through in a sense of supreme emptiness, of being cut off from outward comfort and support of all kind, and of lying, if I may use the expression, which came home to me very vividly then, crushed and bruised under His mighty hand, has not been thrown away but has done, in some measure at any rate, what He would have in driving me in and in on the ultimate basis of Faith and finding comfort, confidence, and strength in Him alone, and the consciousness of His constant Presence. 'Nearer, my God, to Thee, nearer to Thee,' that hymn has been very much present with me. You will not mind my talking so much about myself."

And here I may as well summarise scattered notices contributed by those most closely associated with Lefroy in regard to his devotional habits. Those habits were early formed, and were never intermitted.

The Bishop of Singapore, J. Ferguson Davie, once his domestic chaplain, writes :

"He was an early riser : in Lahore his hour was half-past five in winter and earlier in the summer, and woe betide his 'boy' if he did not wake him punctually. By thus rising early he got nearly two hours for prayer and reading before he set out to walk to the cathedral daily service, which began at eight ; I do not remember his ever missing this when he was well, and only definite engagements prevented him from being present at the daily Evensong also. Only in August, 1918, while staying with me in Singapore he referred to all that the Lahore Cathedral had been to him, and the regular midday prayers in the little chapel at

Bishopsbourne in Lahore, or in 'Harvington' at Simla, were indeed periods of time spent with God. It would have seemed unnatural not to have them with absolute regularity and punctuality."

The Rev. B. K. Cunningham, who joined the Delhi Mission in 1893, writes :

"While it was perhaps the big humanity and the keen Irish humour of the man which drew one so closely to him, I think what made the deepest impression upon me, as a layman working with him in the Cambridge Mission, was the intensity of Lefroy's belief in the Unseen. 'God' was so real to him that he could turn from a conversation, it might be the most ordinary or witty, to talk about God or to God without giving the least impression of unnaturalness.

"It used to be my privilege often to accompany Lefroy down to his work in the Daryaganj suburb of Delhi: he would spend there many hours of an evening instructing, visiting, cheering the people, or settling quarrels domestic or general, never hustling even the most stupid of his flock, infinitely patient with the patience which India demands, and which does not come very easily to most Irishmen: all this pastoral work took a great deal out of him and would leave him utterly tired out, and I remember how again and again as we walked home under the stars Lefroy, after talking over the events of the visit, and appreciating keenly any humour which might be in them, would turn to God repeating aloud some hymn of praise, most often—

" 'The day is over with its lights and shadows,
The vesper-tide shines tranquil in the west,
Then turn thee, O my soul, from things created,
Unto thy Rest.'

Or

" 'Hail, gladdening light !'

"The former was, I think, his special favourite—he told me how strengthening and quieting he found it to be, lifting one right out of self up to God.

"In the same way it seemed an obvious matter of course for Lefroy to refer any experience at once to God. On one occasion we were on a walking tour, such as he used to love, up in the Himalayas: we were miles from anywhere, we had completely lost our way, the forest was dense and darkness was falling, the position was not without danger. We had a

sharp division of opinion as to what course to adopt (I had never before contradicted Lefroy so rudely) ; after a pause he gave way, with care and great difficulty we retraced our way step by step to a certain landmark which gave us our bearing. I remember the frankness with which he said— 'You were quite right, it might have been very awkward if I had had my way. Let us kneel and give thanks to God.'

"On another occasion, after Papillon's death, and after the strain of nursing, in which Lefroy in addition to his other work took more than his share, I went down with swine fever. Lefroy was, I knew, anxious and worried, and prayed over me earnestly ; after a couple of days my temperature fell suddenly and unaccountably. Lefroy, when he had verified the fact, without another word knelt by the bedside and poured out his heart in thanks to God.

"These incidents, small in themselves as no doubt they are, and too personal perhaps for publication, are thoroughly illustrative. One learnt from living and working with Lefroy what a happy and strong thing it is to live never very far from the realisation of God's Presence."

The Rev. J. Godber, Domestic Chaplain in the Calcutta days, writes :

"Six times every day did he seek guidance in prayer and meditation, and no work of any kind was undertaken without first a few moments in silent prayer. He rose every day at 6 a.m., no matter how late he had been up the night before, or how sleepless during the night, and from 6.45 a.m. until he went to the cathedral at 7.30 for Holy Communion or Matins, he spent his time in his chapel: and again from 8 a.m. to 9 a.m. in prayer and study in the chapel. No newspaper was opened and, as a rule, no business was done before breakfast at 9. At noon every day and at 2 o'clock, 7 o'clock, and 9.30 every evening he would be found in his chapel, and even when travelling he always tried to keep these times of prayer."

The cumulative effect of these memories of Lefroy's inner life will act as the spiritual background of all I have to relate.

A few words about the *personnel* of the Brotherhood. Murray and Blackett, two of the original six, were compelled to retire in 1880 owing to ill-health. Maitland, a name to be remembered for his work and his great generosity to the Mission, came out in 1881. In the next year, 1882,

Bickersteth's health failed, and after struggling to return he finally resigned in 1884. A. Haig joined in 1883: W. S. Kelly in 1886. In 1884 it became the duty of the Committee, in concert with the Brotherhood and the Bishop of Lahore, to suggest the new Head. Let Lefroy tell the story of events :

"Delhi : October 7, 1884.

"A postcard has I think been the extent of my communications with you since we heard the news, which is giving us so much sorrow and occasion for thought, of Mr. Bickersteth's loss. [He had been forbidden by the doctors to return.] It is a very heavy blow to us all, as you know, and in some ways I fancy to me almost specially. . . . And it is not we alone, but the whole Mission, and everybody big or little who came across him, feel that a big man is gone from among us. He has not, however, gone without leaving an example which ought to do much, and now we can only hope and pray that by his removal we may, on the one hand, be stirred up to greater keenness and energy of work both to imitate him and to take his place ; and on the other, that we may be the more thrown back on to the One Who is the only One to Whom we can always look, and from Whom all capacity for good work of any kind alone can come. You will easily understand, too, that besides his personal loss there are many questions of weight and difficulty opened up, especially the apportionment of work between us, and the matter of another head. On the latter point we are a good deal stirred in our minds just at present by the announcement that the Home Committee propose to proceed without further delay to an election. . . . We hold that, considering our distance from home, the nature of our headship, etc., etc., it is very desirable that we should at least have a prominent voice, if not the actual right of nomination, subject to the approval of the Home Committee. Who is to be the head after it all I don't know, but I fancy Allnutt."

"Delhi : April 6, 1886.

"The formal permission to nominate a head with the practical promise that our nomination would be confirmed by the Home Committee, reached us a few days ago, and we fixed on to-day as the first day available for our meeting. Of course, it is the first occasion of the kind among us, and so we have no precedent to fall back upon, and perhaps another

time we might make it more formal. . . . At 6.30 we met in our little private chapel, just the five of us, for Holy Communion. H. C. C. celebrated, and we used the Collect, Epistle and Gospel for Whit Sunday, the 'right judgment.' Then after an interval for private prayer we adjourned to our main room, and there after a few words just like himself in their intense humility and simplicity from H. C. C. about the loss we have sustained from being so long without a regular head, and the hope he had that things would go better when we had one, he proposed me. A. seconded, and in a very few words I said I would try. I said how difficult I had found the thought, less on account of the Mission work than for the kind of change it would seem to make in our internal relations, but that I knew it was honestly the wish of both my seniors. And so it was settled. We telegraphed result to Dr. Westcott and probably he will wire confirmation."

"Delhi: May 18, 1886.

"It is a solemn evening for me, for to-morrow morning we have our induction of the Superior of the Brotherhood, as we have now come to define the process and the position. A few days since the Bishop wrote to say he could not come, press of work elsewhere making it, to his great regret, quite impossible. We are going to make it very quiet. We meet at 7 for Celebration. H. C. takes the first part of the service to the Gospel. Then he reads a very short statement of the Nomination of the Brotherhood, and its confirmation from home, then asks me a few questions (taken from a service for the purpose in the Priests' Prayer-book), then a few prayers, and then I continue the office and celebrate. After the service we will sit in Chapter and read our rule. That's all, and it could scarcely be less formal, I think; and yet you know I think in some degree what it means for me. God in His great mercy give me grace to do this and any work to which He calls me."

In 1887 Bishop Westcott mentions "the great hope which I have entertained of Mr. Lefroy's general influence at Delhi. His missionary work will I am sure be of very wide power and tend to bring the Faith in its real meaning before those who cannot apprehend it as it is commonly offered to them. I cannot express too strongly my joy that he has the guidance of the Mission, and every member of the Mission shares the joy."

THE MORAL TONE AND ATMOSPHERE OF INDIA

It is of special interest that upon his appointment as Head of the Brotherhood, Lefroy should have summed up, first in a sermon in Westminster Abbey in August, 1886, and then in an "Occasional Paper" addressed as a letter to Dr. Westcott, his general view of the tone and atmosphere of Indian life as it affected the Delhi Brotherhood. I give his leading thoughts as drawn out in twelve printed pages. Behind all temporary or local causes of difficulty "there lies as the most serious difficulty of all that we encounter an intensely low moral tone which has permeated and now broods over the whole country, checking really healthy progress in well-nigh every direction, and above all blunting the power of conscience and the consciousness of sin." He claims that there has been secured by the Gospel a definite advance in public morality. What strikes him after seven years is the want of faith in man as man, the atmosphere of suspicion of one another which prevents the Government or the missionary from progress. It is felt in political life. In Delhi an Indian judge said, "I have been put here by the English authorities and what I mean to do is to keep them content and to give such decisions as may be most agreeable to them." An Indian gentleman said to a high-placed Englishman, "The secret of your rule is the extraordinary way you hang together. In old days the Delhi Emperor scarcely ever sent a Governor into one of the distant provinces without the feeling that in all likelihood the man would throw off his allegiance. With you it never seems to suggest itself to the Viceroy that any of you might do this." Again, it is a common belief among the poorest Christians in Delhi that money sent from England for their support is seized and kept back by the missionaries. So also bribery of officials is looked upon as natural and to be expected. In commercial life it is this lack of trust which prevents co-operation. A recent writer in the eighties, computed that bullion to the value of 350 millions sterling had been buried in the last forty years. Partnership in business is shrunk from through mutual mistrust. The same lack of moral tone is apparent in family life. There is a want of faith in the purity of women and in the honour of men which is a fatal bar to the frank

relation between the sexes. There is another point: "We live in a country where nine-tenths of religious inquirers end their visit with a request for pecuniary help, for instruction in the English language, or for a recommendation to some official post." "Nine-tenths, or considerably more, of the servants seem absolutely incapable of giving you a simple straight answer to the most ordinary indifferent question." Yet there is no reason to despair. I have quoted Lefroy as he wrote thirty-three years ago. Who can doubt that there has been an enormous improvement now in all departments of life in India?

The following is a graphic account of strange Indian climatic conditions:

"Delhi: May 15, 1888.

"I have seen two strange natural phenomena lately. In the middle of this heat there sometimes comes a violent dust-storm, accompanied often with a thunder shower and sometimes, at the beginning of the hot weather, with hail; though it is hard enough to fancy where the hail manages to get formed in such an atmosphere. About a fortnight ago we were sitting at tiffin, when such a storm blew up. Presently hail began and we went out into the verandah to watch and saw that it was falling much bigger than usual. We ran out and picked up some as large as very large marbles. Presently, however, we heard a crash on a tin verandah near that told us matters were getting more serious, and looking round we saw a solid ball of ice, at least as large as a good-sized tennis ball. We shouted to the boys and all to get under cover, and presently it began a regular cannonade of these things. I don't mean that it came down as thick as ordinary hail, but at the end of about the five minutes that it lasted you could have counted hundreds of these great balls lying all around. Maitland weighed one after it had fallen into a tank of warm water and certainly lost some of its weight, and found it 5 oz. A child was killed near by. Another town not very far off got it far worse, and about 150 people were killed by the hailstones. I never saw anything like it, and never expect to again.

"Then a few days since I was walking across the country between two of my out-stations, and I saw a little whirlwind blowing up across the fields. These, too, are not uncommon in the hot weather: just little columns of rapidly circulating air which move across the fields whirling up bits of straw, leaves, etc. I saw, however, that this was much bigger than usual.

When I was about 200 yards off it, the air where I was became perfectly still while the column advanced, the air revolving with such fury that I think it is a question whether I could have stood upright in it, and raising such a cloud of dust that I couldn't the least see through it. I went close up to its track, and it passed about 10 yards in front of me, scarcely affecting the air where I was, and yet raging round its own centre."

CHAPTER VII

LEFROY AND ISLAM

I HAVE reached at length that period of Lefroy's life work which will be considered by most as of central interest. Reverence for the testimony he gave will grow as they read of his courage, temper, and devotion. They breathe throughout his own letters, albeit unconsciously. In no heroic mood but as a simple piece of ordinary duty George Lefroy prepared himself for his mission to Moslems in the Lord's name. He continued the study of Hebrew, and added Arabic to it. He had already become an eloquent speaker in Urdu : he studied the Koran, and many Moslem classics, as well as the best and most generous books on the Christian side. Then he flung himself into the hottest part of the fight, namely, the bazaars, for preaching and disputation, till he won the distinction, surely almost unique, of being invited to meet thousands of Moslems in their own mosques. We shall also accord him our full sympathy when he sadly reflects on the fact that the most arduous and responsible work he had to do should come of necessity at the end of the day, of days too often crowded with numberless details of business which would seem, on the surface at least, to be mere serving of tables.

As regards his views of the Mahommedan religion it is not to be expected that he would have anything new to say, but I will presently summarise the chief points in two important printed papers of his own on the subject. It is the letters which will be read with deep feeling, written as they were to his home circle, and often directly after his return from the bazaar, almost worn out. One difficulty I have had to face, and in the true interest, as I believe, of the Church of God, I

have had to consider whether I ought to print so many letters of Lefroy's referring to a brother beloved, whom we have long known as the blind Maulvi. After much anxious thought I have decided that it is impossible to keep from the Church, any more than St. Paul could keep back the story of his conversion, and of his own previous persecutions of Christians, the steps which led our brother finally, and for ever, to the feet of Christ. Without question the letters I print will not bring one word of reproach to him, who is now a standard-bearer among us. All I publish will be read with instructed sympathy, at times almost with tears. We shall be taught once more, and in a signal manner, how hard is the path of those who continue to show forth the miracles of grace in our own day, and after conversion, by winning their crown through much tribulation, and after many a stumble. No history of George Lefroy would be complete without such a record. Moreover, we shall also note how his open-hearted, generous, and courteous nature won for him the respect of thousands of Moslems who, so far as we know, remained unmoved by his presentation to them of the Faith of Christ.

The fact is, and it should be widely known, that a Moslem respects a religious man who is not only not ashamed of his belief, but is also prepared to stand up for it, and spread it. Only let his Christian protagonist be generous, fair-minded, and ever courteous, and he will give him reverence. The histories of British soldiers and civilians in India, quite as much as of missionaries, have emphasised this fact over and over again. The few Englishmen who actually became objects of worship among some of the Indian race were all godly Christians, and fervently attached to the cause of Christian missions, being also respectful gentlemen. The earliest letter is specially interesting :

" April 22, 1884.

" Just before leaving Delhi I had some interesting talks with a Mahommedan Maulvi—though I regret to say they came to nothing—which I should like to tell you a little about. The way I came across him was this. I was standing one day in the Bazaar listening to a Catechist discoursing on the two parts of the Jewish Law—the Ceremonial from which we are freed, and the Spiritual which we still hold. It is a

common point out here, naturally, where the 'Law' is one of the points we hold in common with Mahommedans, though we take a widely different view of it. At the same time the subject is a difficult one, and I have rarely heard the distinctions brought out in a way that seemed to me wholly satisfactory. When he had done a Mahommedan—and this, too, usually follows—stood forward, and proceeded to show the people that while we in words respect the Law yet in fact we obey *no part* of it, while the Mahommedans respect both the Ceremonial and the Spiritual. The position is, of course, hopelessly absurd, and merely means that they have not got the least conception of what the Old Testament contains. After he had talked a bit I stepped forward, and said I wanted to ask him a question. Of course he was quite prepared to answer it, so I asked him how often he had been to Jerusalem? Jerusalem! why never, of course; he had been to Mecca, and that was enough for any good Mahommedan, etc. Of course the poor man did not, in his ignorance, even see the drift of my question. Then I read him the verse directing that every male should present himself three times a year in Jerusalem, and asked how he had observed this. That, of course, was the end of him; but then a very superior looking man stepped forward and said he didn't want to make a fool of himself as his brother in the faith had been doing (candid and complimentary I thought), but had some difficulties which he would gladly talk to me about if I would name some suitable place and time. This, of course, is just what we want most of all to get; so I gladly agreed, only stipulating that as I supposed he wanted not an argumentative victory but the truth on definite points, he should send me his questions in writing beforehand so as to enable me to talk them over with my friends, and reply to him to the best of my power. To this he gladly assented, and in a few days a paper appeared containing several points but chiefly three. (a) Is our Gospel corrupted in its text?—a common point springing out of critical exegesis, and specially stimulated just now by the New Version, which they take to be a new edition of the Bible! (b) The Divinity of our Lord. (c) The Trinity—these two being of course *the* stock Mahommedan objections. On one point we had a little dispute: he wanted to have a number of people present 'in order that the more souls might be benefited and a larger number be brought to a saving knowledge of the truth;' while I entirely refused on the ground that such saving knowledge comes not from an intellectual discussion but in answer to a humble and

earnest spirit, and that this was a qualification in which crowds so collected were for the most part singularly lacking. I was firm, so he gave way. The first day I met him we took his first point, the various readings of the New Testament. There were about half a dozen of his friends there, but all perfectly quiet and well-behaved, and singularly fair in their attitude towards the argument, recognising a point of mine if sound, or refusing one of his if the reverse with equal readiness. I was much pleased. The question, however, was so entirely technical and scholastic that it was really, at least so I found it, hopeless to try and discuss it with those who have no idea of the very first rules of the critical sciences, and after about two hours we separated, he recognising some of what I had said but stating that he was not satisfied, which was fair enough. For the next meeting I proposed that I should be the interlocutor, for I pointed out that attack is, in these matters, far easier than defence; that it is often far easier, especially in the mysteries of religious faith, to make objections than to answer them, and therefore it was only fair we should occupy these positions alternately, more especially as I had some difficulties about Mahommedanism I should be glad to have removed. The question I propounded may seem rather a strange one, for it was the origin of evil; and that it is a point that we Christians do not profess to be able to teach much on; but therein lies the point, the Mahommedans do profess to understand it, and put it down without hesitation to God; the absolute sovereignty of the God of Islam makes it inconceivable to them that anything should happen in the world otherwise than according to His will, and by His direct command. Hence their teaching about Kismet or fate, which has so fearfully sapped the distinction between good and evil, and has led to the necessary and essentially logical belief that since all alike is by God's decree, the difference of virtue and vice, etc., can be only apparent and superficial. It is this, I believe, which more than anything else hinders our work in this country. There is, and under predestinarianism of this type there can be, no consciousness of sin. In one way he beat me, for he declared it was taught in the Gospel, which he knew well, and quoted Romans ix., to which I could answer nothing; for, however from a Christian standpoint one may reconcile the teaching there with the simple original and instinctive belief which such teaching seems to contravene (God is good, and cannot therefore be the Author of evil), yet I felt that to have attempted an explanation to them would have seemed mere

equivocation, an attempt to escape the obvious teaching of the passage. So I conceded it, and then getting back as far as possible to the original question, I tried to make him say how God can be good if He is really the Author of all the horrible evil we see around us, and which we so loathe : and to show you what Mahommedanism in the logical outcome of its teaching does necessarily lead to (and I believe no learned Mahommedan would dissent from his conclusion) he said, when pressed, though he had sufficient moral instinct not to like to say it, that God was no doubt really responsible for all the evil, but escaped, so to say, the imputation, because there was no higher tribunal which could call Him to account. If there were such, he admitted that he did not see how God's character could be cleared. Is it not an awful position, cutting away the very fundamentals of religion beneath us ? . . . All he could do was to insist with great earnestness that we poor worms have no right to presume, even in thought, to judge God for a moment, and that we must regard Him as pure. Certainly human nature is better than its creeds sometimes as here : though when I asked him honestly to say whether he thought it possible to love a God of whose inmost character we must thus conceive, he had nothing to say, and could only deprecate the whole question as one beyond our grasp, and here I agreed with him, only asking that we should admit it really beyond our grasp rather than dishonour God by attempting an explanation which leads to such dire conclusions."

" Nov. 13, 1884.

" I have just this moment come in from a long and excited Bazaar preaching. I think it is perhaps *the* one of our 'experiences' that I should most entirely despair of ever bringing home to you ; the whole line of thought and style of objection, not to speak of the temper and genius of the people is so wholly Oriental, for the most part Mahommedan, and unlike anything you know. I have a good deal of fun with them sometimes, and on the whole it is, I think, a very good weapon, if not used unkindly. This evening there was a tremendously impetuous little chap, an old friend of such occasions, who would insist on pouring out torrents of objections and defying me to answer them, supremely regardless of the fact that I had expressly said that I did not intend to try to do anything of the kind : at last I could only bring home my position to him and the crowd, which was a large one, *i.e.* some seventy or eighty, by stopping my ears or rather

one, for I could not get at the other: but it did as an illustration and really did make them understand that I was not going to listen. I got the mass of them quite on my side by the end, and the poor little objector was treated with rather scant ceremony. It is perhaps the hardest work of any we have to do, if it is to be done well; and I do think that, well done, it is about the best, and badly done very much the worst of all we do. We do indeed stand in need of very many and diverse gifts to go through with it successfully, though of course one quality is a necessity, temper and good humour, and this is not always easy."

" Delhi : Oct. 20, 1885.

"I am just this moment in from Bazaar preaching, from which fact, if you know anything at all of our work, you may safely predicate that this epistle is not likely to be a long one. I think nothing takes it out of one like Bazaar preaching. . . . To-day the famous Brahman Christian, Nehemiah Goreh, came to us to spend a couple of nights. You probably know him by name, as he has been once at least in England, oftener, I think. He is supposed to be about the best Sanskrit Christian scholar there is and, I believe, a very fine man.

"We have been in a great deal of anxiety about one of our young converts lately, and indeed are not out of it yet. It is —, that is, 'dedicated to Christ,' the young Mahomedan convert of whom A. wrote an account some time ago in a letter for private circulation, which you have, I hope, seen. In August the college holidays began, and he asked leave to go down and see his old Mahomedan relations a long way off beyond Patna. It meant a very serious risk and a very severe strain to the boy's Christian principle, as, like all Mahomedans, his people are tremendously keen against Christianity and we know they would do their utmost to seduce him from his faith. However, the wish to go was so entirely his own, and his reliance on Christ for help and guidance in all his difficulties seemed then, as it always has been, so entire that we did not like to dissuade him, and so let him go. He himself was confident that family love would prove stronger than religious differences, and that they would at any rate receive him warmly and listen to what he had to say. This, however, was not what Christ seems to foretell when He says that a man's foes shall be they of his own household, nor did it prove so with him; for very soon after he got there he began to write in a tone which showed that he was beginning to see that he had underrated the difficulties of his task, and that, though he was still looking

humbly and confidently to the right quarter for help, yet he was beginning to feel the strain very severe. And soon the news got worse, for he wrote in great distress of mind and sickness of body ; he spoke of a betrothal with a heathen girl into which they were trying to force him in order to form a fresh bond with Mahommedanism, and which, though thoroughly disliking it, he did not seem to have strength left to resist as he ought. It happened that A. was taking his holiday not very far from where the boy was. C. accordingly wrote to him to ask him to go and try to see the boy and get him away at once before he was fatally involved. A. accordingly set out for the place. From various reasons, however, chiefly extensive floods, he did not succeed in reaching the village or seeing the boy, but he got one or two letters from him of a tone which reassured him very much and which enabled him to return to Delhi, where college work was needing him very much, without having accomplished his object and yet fairly happy in mind and believing that the boy would follow in a few days. I do indeed trust and hope it may be so."

In 1890, and in the ensuing years, the letters deal more and more with the work to which he was specially devoting himself. The Bickersteth Hall also was about to be opened for discussions.

"June 10, 1890.

"Just at present I am specially interested in some work of which I wrote to F. a couple of weeks ago. I have been meeting some Mahommedans in a much more intelligent and reasonable way than I ever did before in one of their mosques, and really trying to get them to understand our creed. I must say they have been on the whole wonderfully courteous and willing to understand, which is to me a wholly new experience of them. I had a close set-to of three hours last Friday morning with one of their leading teachers here, and am pledged to go back again and renew it next Friday morning at six o'clock. I hope in this way I may keep it up, for it is exactly the kind of work which I most long for, but which only a short time since seemed so difficult, almost impossible to attain. It is, however, as you may imagine, terrible work arguing on the Trinity and such-like subjects in Hindostanee. One has to tackle such questions with them, for they are just like the Greek Church of old and *must* deal with such matters. It involves a terrible danger to them, for maxims like "the

pure in heart shall see God," are apt to be wholly lost to sight, and to become very distasteful. Still I believe we must meet them on such ground and try to draw them on. This work has been accompanied by another and less welcome experience ; whether connected as cause and effect in any way, or a pure coincidence, I do not know. We are encountering in our open street Bazaar preaching, a degree of bigoted opposition such as I have never been through before. One more especially, a blind Mahomedan preacher, about whom I told you I think when I was at home, but who has become much more violent since, jumps up on the footpath alongside of me, as I am preaching, and simply begins to bawl out a sermon of his own, or rather for the most part a declamation against the Christian faith, so as simply to drown my voice and make preaching impossible. If I shift my place, he comes after me, though hitherto he has always stopped at a certain point, and I have been able eventually to shake him off and go on. It seems as if his conscience did come in somewhere, though I certainly could wish its intervention were a little bit more speedy ! I believe I could have such purely boisterous opposition stopped by the police, but I am most anxious not to have recourse to them but if possible to live it down by patience and forbearance. I am sure if one can, the victory so gained is worth much more. Even now many, usually I think a majority of the crowd, are definitely on our side and resent such purely factious disturbance and try to shut them up ; but this is not easy, and it is hard for them to take very active measures when the taunt is hurled at them of being Christians in heart themselves. I do fully believe that if we can bear it in the right spirit, 'the mind of Christ,' it will do more to win people to us than a great deal of purely passive listening to uninterrupted preaching. And we always hold that any kind of opposition is a better sign than stolid indifference. I do really hope it means that they are beginning to feel we are a power which has to be definitely reckoned with, and this is the way the coarser spirits take to deal with us. It is, however, terribly trying on judgment and temper, especially in an atmosphere of 105 or so ! Do use that Confirmation Collect especially for me in this difficulty. I have promised to meet a lot of the more boisterous men in my room in the town next Sunday to try to talk a little with them. It will be a trying scene I suspect, and I do not know whether any good will come of it, but I want in any and every way to meet them, to get across the great gulf which separates us."

"Delhi : June 24, 1890.

"The other night I went to the Bazaar at 6.15 p.m. and got into discussion with a man and only came away at five minutes to midnight. This is of course exhausting. It was also disappointing, for I only did it because being a most violent and factious opponent he promised not to interrupt us again if I gave him one good talk. At the end he refused to ratify his promise. I know, however, that many of the Mahommedans are themselves very indignant with him for his faithlessness; and as he has not come for two nights since, perhaps he is thinking better of it."

The Bickersteth Hall.

"Delhi : July 22, 1890.

"I don't know whether you will remember a scheme Bickersteth had very much at heart and for which he collected money (some probably from you), of building a Preaching Hall on one of the main streets, so that we might have preaching very much of the present type, *i.e.* addressed to the same kind of miscellaneous and chance audience, but carried on under rather more favourable conditions of quiet, order, shelter, etc. It has been hanging fire for a long time, chiefly because none of us were strong enough for such Bazaar preaching as this would seem to involve. But in my present spasm of energy I have pushed it on (the money has been lying funded in my name ever since), have secured, I hope, a good site, and propose to begin building very soon. I hope the message may come home to some empty and weary hearts there too some day, though they are about as little conscious of any emptiness or weariness (so far as we can see) as well can be."

"C.M.D. : Aug. 12, 1890.

"I am just getting in for another bit of building to which I think I recently referred, the Preaching Hall which B. had so much at heart, but which has hung fire ever since he went. We are pushing it on now, partly because bricks and mortar are catching, partly because of the trouble we have been having in the Bazaar preaching. I purchased a site on Saturday last. Think of having to pay £600 in florins, *i.e.* rupees! no notes or anything of the kind accepted. I had to take my carriage (a grand word for a very simple vehicle) to carry it to the spot, and the process of weighing it out (they fortunately did not insist on counting) took about three-quarters of an hour. The site I have got is not first class, not being in one of the best or most crowded thoroughfares,

but it is getting increasingly difficult to get any property in Delhi, we having slept during the years when it would have been easy, and now we must take what we can. I hope it will prove an onward step.

"In the Bazaar we are having sore trouble. I accept it all as a sign in various ways of progress, as well as a means of disciplining, but it is not easy to rejoice in it. After last Friday, I am sorry to say, I had at last to write to the police authorities and ask for their interference. I have never had to do this before, and was very loth now ; I am now not more than half convinced that it was right to do so ; but the provocation was great and especially hard on our native agents. They are both more exposed to abuse, etc., and have less power of forbearance, and knowing we had the law at our backs and could get saved from the worst of the trouble any time, if we would apply for it, they could not understand or appreciate our not doing so. The police officer himself did not much care for the job. He is not the least sympathetic in our work, and extremely afraid of the Mahommedan rowdy population that is so prominent in Delhi. The D.C., however, who is the supreme executive officer, took a very strong line as to the lawfulness of our occupation, and therefore our right to protection from anything like gross abuse or open violence (not that the latter has been in any real sense attempted), and issued orders accordingly. I am going down now in a few minutes for the first time to preach, and shall see what the effect will be. If the blind Maulvi, of whom I have spoken before, and who is our only really strong antagonist, elects for martyrdom, which is just possible, we shall have probably a bad quarter of an hour. He may think it good value to pose as oppressed by the English strong arm on behalf of the faith. Probably, however, he will more or less draw back. I will tell you before I send this how it goes. . . . It has been very trying again ; the opposition was very keen, and so arranged that, while on the one hand it to all intents and purposes stops the preaching, on the other hand I am not sure how far the law will be able to help me in checking it. Well, if not, we must get over it in other ways, and in some ways I should be happier if it were so. God will work out His purposes through it one way or another. It is, however, very killing work."

The invitation to a mosque, and the action of the blind Maulvi.

"C.M.D. : Jan. 7, 1891.

"I don't know how far F. and B. have been keeping you informed of what is going on, both in a general way and also

in the renewal on a much larger scale of my meetings with the Mahommedans which is just at present an immense interest to me. I have been rather slack in writing myself, partly because I have been looking to them to do most of the correspondence, so I don't know how much you have heard. They commenced just over a chance discussion, as we call it, in the Bazaar one night. A point arose which we could not finish, and they said they would like to go on with it ; so I said, 'Why don't you ask me to a mosque? I will come anywhere.' So they did, to the large mosque in which the last few of my previous conversations had been. The day we appointed was not a very fortunate one, for I had been out in the district the night before, and got back to Delhi very hungry indeed at two o'clock, the very time I was due at the mosque! However, good Mrs. Scott was equal to the emergency, and met me at the station with a bottle of soup and some sandwiches. I got to the mosque as soon as I could, and instead of the twenty or thirty men I had been accustomed to meet previously, I found two hundred or three hundred all packed in, a table spread with books for discussion, and all on a grand scale. I felt I was in for it. We were at it for four hours, talking chiefly over internal discrepancies in the Gospel accounts, *e.g.*, did *both* thieves abuse our Lord or only one? etc., etc. One very interesting incident occurred in the middle, though exactly what it meant we do not yet know. They had dressed up the blind Maulvi, of whom you have heard as our most determined opponent all through the summer, in good clothes and put him in the chair as a President ; about halfway through he got excited over something that was said, and got up and said that they might as well know that he had been for some time thinking about Christianity, and he thought there was much in it, and, if no more argument was adduced on their side, he would take the Padre's hand and leave the mosque with him. The words caused, I need hardly say, a profound sensation, and I hardly knew what would happen. They quieted him down, however, promising to prove that there are plenty of prophecies of Mahommedanism in the Old and New Testaments, and so we came away without him ; I almost dead. I scarcely know how far he was in earnest, but for some months our preachers have thought there was a decided change in his manner, and since then he has been with me, one day for three hours, definitely expressing his wish to be a Christian. It will be a remarkable instance of the working of Grace if he does come in to Christ in earnestness and humility ; but he has much

difficulty before him in any case. After that I had two more meetings with the same disputant ; one a very large one, over 1000 men packed quietly and listening for three hours. Then these ended, a proclamation appearing in print (I may just say) a few days afterwards to announce the utter defeat in discussion of Rev. G. A. Lefroy, who had been unable to say a word, and who was now invited to take refuge in Islam ! This was to be expected as a matter of course, and does not in the least signify. Most of them know perfectly how to value it, and it could not affect the fact that I had an unrivalled opportunity of stating quietly, and at length, various points of Christian doctrine.

"Then in a few days another man, decidedly superior to the previous one (though also not one of the really leading Maulvies in the city, who fight very shy of this kind of thing and will not meet me), said he wanted to have some public meetings. I gladly assented, and we have had two. They will not allow me now to use the mosque, but yesterday we had a tent up in W.'s garden, and carpets laid down, and there were, I should say, 700 or 800 men quietly sitting there for nearly three hours, while we each expounded the position which Jesus Christ occupied in our respective systems. You would be astonished to hear how they speak of Him, putting Him into the very highest place among men, but quite denying the Incarnation and Atonement. We resume next Wednesday. You will understand how much it all means to me."

"Jan. 15, 1891.

"I cannot write more now, but yesterday I had a splendid meeting ; far the best so far as my consciousness of strength and effect goes, though perhaps that is not always a reliable test. I do trust good will come. Over a thousand perfectly quiet for three hours. It is an absolutely new experience. Do pray much for us. If only I could be amongst them now night and day ! but this seems at present impossible."

"April 30, 1891.

"Ups and downs. I am in one of my lower phases at present. You know that too, don't you ? when letters won't get written, and work won't get done, and arrears accumulate, all for no apparent reason, and one feels slack and unsatisfactory within. That's me more or less at present with no ostensible reason. I hope things will mend again soon. I often wonder whether such ebbs ought to be connected with some specific shortcoming, or with a general failure to attribute sufficiently

the better times, when they come, to a Power other than ourselves. Or whether we must just accept them as one of the laws of progress in the moral as well as in so many spheres of the physical world (ebbs and flows), without trying to assign them to any specific cause. I suppose two and three really run into each other. I mean if they are a law it is because we all do in point of fact fail in some such direction as No. 2, and therefore need the law. Work is slack. The men whom I hoped I had rather got a hold of from among the Mahommedans a few months back have dropped off again, and don't show up at the preaching or elsewhere. I don't know why. Still I must, and do, hope that what has been done in spite of all its imperfections and much of unwisdom is a step onward. The Preaching Hall is advancing rapidly, and will look very nice, I think. May it also help to another forward move!"

"C.M.D. : June 3, 1891.

"At present it is the Mahommedan question that is developing every day, and becoming to me very absorbing. I am just beginning to get a little bit on to Arabic, and at once feel how much additional force it will give one. It may bring home to you how very far the people with whom we have to deal are from black savages (though I should apologise for thinking you in need of such a correction). These have all the scholar's appreciation of a man who knows the original language of a book, and is able to discourse upon it; and, unfortunately for me, all the scholar's contempt for a man not so situated. I don't mean that they are necessarily all real scholars themselves; in point of fact, in the case of most of those with whom I have to deal the very reverse is the case; but there is enough of the scholar's instinct in the air for them to be able to work on, and hold up to scorn a man who presumes to attack a religious belief without showing his knowledge in a sufficient knowledge of long words. I am only just getting a smattering of it as yet, but even that little helps greatly, and I hope I shall soon shoot ahead. My knowledge of Hebrew stands me in very good stead, as they are very kindred languages. I am writing a small book on prophecy strictly for Mahommedan consumption, in the vernacular: my first literary enterprise, and want very much to get out one or two papers on other disputed points if I have time."

"C.M.D. : June 3, 1891.

"Last night I had a long talk in the Bazaar with a very old antagonist over a specific point in their religious teaching

(the formal permission of lying on specific occasions, these including a man to his wife, and a wife to her husband, in the most general and indiscriminate way!), and I have never before had such a complete walk-over. I really think even the Mahommedan crowd that was standing there, and ready to give him tenfold credit for any decent point he could make, felt how complete the breakdown was. Our Preaching Hall is nearly ready, I am thankful to say, and I shall value it enormously; especially for occasions of this kind, when a specific question is being discussed, and books, usually tomes of portentous dimensions, have to be invoked. It will be invaluable. Whether it will be able to take the place of the more ordinary Bazaar preaching is a question; but so far as it can the relief to voice and mind and everything will be great."

"June 10, 1891.

"I am very happy this morning. We had last night the best preaching I think I have ever had. It began about 6.30 poorly enough with constant interruptions, but then I settled down to it with the old blind Maulvi, and God was with me and I got well on to it and we went on till 8 o'clock, when I finished in entire darkness, but with a considerable crowd all around listening in perfect silence while I spoke of the Atonement as the supreme manifestation of the love of God, *i.e.* of the one power adequate to wean such as us from our habits of sin. The opponent seemed really only to act as a foil for the setting forth of the truth; and what is more I cannot help thinking that the great weakness he has shown recently, in contrast with both the virulence and the skill with which he used to attack, bears witness to some shaking of old convictions within. Of course, if it does mean this, it is tenfold welcome. It is extraordinary how one's experiences at the Bazaar preaching differ. One night one comes away with an almost hopeless sense of having done nothing, got nothing by the right end, and brought out nothing in a way that could really help the listeners; and then again one gets an experience like last night, when I came away tingling all over with excitement and the sense of having got thoroughly home. However, I am quite sure the one thing one ought *not* to do is to assume that what seems to go best is really most spiritual value and *vice versa*. If the lessons of our Lord's life are true for us, it is evident that it is rather through apparent defeat and failure than through conscious triumph that victory in the true sense

of the word is won ; so one believes that all alike, good and bad, defeat and apparent success, is being taken up by Him and knit into the building up of the Kingdom here. The Preaching Hall is nearly ready, and I am longing for it. Every week I seem to be getting a little more into touch with these Mahommedans, and it may possibly please God to give one some real power amongst them during the coming years."

By 1891 the pressure of his special vocation at this time as against other duties begins to tell.

"C.M.D. : July 22, 1891.

"We got through some more or less important business this morning (on the Sanitation Sub-Committee) and I have just got away in time to send this off by the mail. At the same time I feel that probably my days on the Municipal Committee are numbered. For one thing, I am not as happy on it as I was ; I mean about my being in place on it. I think this probably means that I have got the good from it I was intended to get (and I believe that to be very great) and now one may lay it aside. Also my more direct preaching work is getting a larger and larger claim on me as the scope for it develops by my getting in touch with the Mahommedans ; and this must push out secondary occupations, which were very well in their own time, but never could constitute a primary charge on one's time or thought. Then in the second place, if, as is now very much most probable, I have very shortly to take the Headship of the entire Mission, I should at once resign. It is not so much that the increase of work would make continuance of membership difficult, as that even now I only get to the special meetings, which are held the first Monday of each month ; but for the paymaster and general boss of the Mission the first few days of each month are the hardest of all, and are hopelessly blocked. Catechists, readers, *et hoc genus omne* in from district and villages, each, besides wanting his pay, having some proposal to make, some hardship to be remedied, or some shortcoming to be dropped on for, etc., etc. I never could send them away saying I had to attend a Municipal Committee, for they feel much more strongly about its worldliness than we do. To them, of course, in this country sacred and secular have always been absolutely demarcated. There has never been an attempt at the peculiar secret of Christianity claiming all life for God,

refusing to consider anything in one sense secular. The world has been given up to the devil as his natural possession, and those who wished to save their souls did it in as entire separation from the world as was possible. This, so far as I know, is the highest any religion but our own has reached, and therefore as I say these people regard this part of my work with no favour, and it is more or less in violence to their prejudices that I do it. Still one has to do this sometimes to teach lessons."

A typical detail of controversy.

"August 4, 1891.

"To-night we had a very large crowd, 300 I should think, decent, quiet and respectful, while I had another go in with the blind Maulvi. It was not on a point of much importance. To illustrate our work I will tell you. He had urged that the conduct of the Apostles at the time of the death of Christ, the betrayal by one, the denial by another, the defection by all, showed how little power or effect there had been in the teaching of Christ. I replied first of all by showing that the more stress you laid on their weakness at this time (that having also been clearly foreseen and declared by Christ), the greater was the evidence of something wonderful having happened to make those weak disciples the men they were afterwards, ready to go through anything for the sake of Christ, etc., etc. Then turning to Mahomet I said I thought I remembered that the same objection might be laid against him, for at his death there was a defection of a large number of his followers; only I thought the means employed to win them back were not quite the same as those by which the disciples of the early Church rallied round again. This he indignantly denied, saying that no doubt a few who did not like to pay the required tax to Mahomet's family turned from the faith, but the mass were true. I said (this was last week) that it was no good fighting over a question which was simply one of historical fact, and next week I would either bring some authority of theirs to prove my assertion, or admit that it was an erroneous one.

"I found in their most standard Persian history a far more sweeping statement than any I had used, to the effect that on the news of Mahomet's death, the whole of Arabia except his own tribe (the Koreish) abandoned Islam. I went down armed with this, and, of course, though he wriggled, as I think people out here alone know how to wriggle, there was nothing to be said. I pointed out too the very simple means employed to bring the recusants back; not a word

of preaching, teaching, or the like ; but out of the small body who remained faithful, eleven expeditions were formed and sent out, sword in hand, to various parts of the country with very summary orders."

The serving of tables.

"Delhi : September, 1891.

" It does so terribly grieve me when it happens as it did to-day, that while one has had the whole day at mere machinery and organisation and accounts, and then it comes to the evening, and one is too done to do the true work—what I am here for, and what I long to be about : telling the people of what has enriched my life. It almost seems as if one's whole method must be wrong when such results are possible. It is, of course, just the worst time of all, the first of the month, when all bills have to be settled, and endless interviews with all kinds of people gone through ; but it is Tuesday, my favourite preaching evening, and then to feel as the time drew near that it could not be, that one could not keep going much longer, at any rate not for that extra strain, it was sad. It is such a pity that the preaching always comes, apparently *must* come, at the end of the day, when all kinds of things have had first pull at one, and taken most of the go and life out. However, then also one can bear witness to another Power."

I insert here an account by an eyewitness of a scene never to be forgotten in Christian annals. The Bishop of Nagpur (Dr. Eyre Chatterton) printed it in the *Nagpur Division Magazine*, from which I extract it. Writing after Lefroy's death of his visit to Delhi in 1892 he says :

" But the crowning memory of my visit was reserved for the last night. For some years previously wherever he had gone to deliver his message, whether in the bazaars of Delhi, or in its surrounding villages, there was one person almost always present and always ready to contradict every word he said. This strange being was a certain blind Maulvi or teacher who had done his pilgrimage to Mecca and was therefore honoured with the title of Hadji. And on this my last night in Delhi, a great event was to take place. For months this blind Maulvi had been wavering in his conviction as a Moslem, and on this night he had decided to openly confess his faith in Christ before his baptism. It was a bold course for the man to take, and perhaps an even bolder one for Lefroy

to allow, but, as the blind Maulvi had so bitterly opposed the teaching of the Cross, it was felt that it might strengthen his faith if he passed safely through the ordeal.

"The Bickersteth Hall was crowded to overflowing with Mahommedans long before the meeting started, and it was soon evident that we were not going to spend a quiet evening. First of all an old Pathan Christian Catechist arose—a man who had been a faithful Christian for many years. He was listened to respectfully. Hardly, however, had the blind Maulvi begun to speak than murmurs of strong displeasure were heard on all sides. Certainly there was nothing in the least conciliatory about his voice. Doubtless in the blind the sense of sound is more acute than in those of us who can see, and clearly the loud murmurs of anger and disapproval of his compatriots penetrated more deeply into the Maulvi's soul than one at first realised. Suffice it to say that there was suddenly an ominous pause in his utterances, and during this pause almost immediately Bedlam seemed let loose, and in less than three minutes the Hall was empty, and the blind Maulvi was gone—carried off in triumph by his audience to a neighbouring mosque. For a moment terror had filled his soul and his faith had failed him. It was after all but a short triumph for these Moslems, for a few months later the blind Maulvi returned to the Cambridge Mission in bitter shame and repentance for his cowardice, and after a long and stern probation was eventually baptised. Since then for more than twenty years he has been preaching the faith which he once so bitterly opposed.

"But perhaps even more than this strangely exciting scene, there remains in my memory the picture of our late Metropolitan on that eventful night. We left him before midnight at his special request, and all night long he remained alone in that Hall in prayer. His was a bitter disappointment, and in the silence of the night he found solace alone with his God. Over and over again the memory of that night of January, 1892, has come back to me. Like some bright flash of lightning which reveals for a moment on a dark night what would otherwise be unseen, that night revealed to one the intense devotion for souls which lay at the back of all Lefroy's life's work."

But to return to Lefroy's own account :

"*Jan. 27, 1892.*—We are on the eve of a crisis. The blind Mahomedan preacher who has been the very forefront of all the bitterest opposition to our work for some years, has

come to me to express his wish for baptism. He says he will make a public confession of his faith after a lecture I am to give in our new Preaching Hall to-morrow night. In this country motives are terribly difficult to sift, and I had at one time special reason to mistrust him. All I can say is that I have done my very best to test him even to the extent of serious discouragement, and now I feel it would not be right to delay more ; and I do myself believe he is true, at any rate in a large measure. If he does come really under the power of the Spirit it will be a remarkable thing, and in all probability will open a new chapter in our work. The excitement will be great, and he fears for his life. I can't say what will happen, but I hope nothing very bad. Pray much for him and for me, for such cases need singular gifts."

"*Feb. 18.*—There is much more I should like to tell you of, especially about the blind man who has been very near confession of the Faith but failed at the eleventh hour for want of courage. I am writing something about it in our Report which goes home by this mail, so you will see it some time. He is in an extraordinary position at present, vowing allegiance to me and yet living among the Mahommedans and egged on by them to opposition. This sort of thing can't last long. He must either respond to the Spirit and come forward, or quench it and fall back.

"I had an extraordinary two days in an out-station 35 miles off, to which I went last Sunday, and was followed by him and another zealous Mahommedan, partly in friendliness, partly in opposition. We all breakfasted together in the utmost good fellowship, and then adjourned to the bazaar for an argument. I tremble to think of the length my jaw will grow to, but pray for me that my heart may in it all be kept child-like and humble and pure."

"*March 9, '92.*—More interest than I can well say centres in my heart at least round the now famous blind Maulvi. Since I last wrote he came to a second meeting, declaring he was going to confess Christ, and after another very severe inward struggle he failed. Now the Mahommedans have got him away to Lahore and are doing all they can to prevent his return here. They know that his heart is not with them any longer. I got, however, a short note from him last night saying he would certainly return in a few days and come to me. It is an extraordinary instance of the power of Christ's attraction. I am offering him nothing, and he knows how much of insult and difficulty it will mean. The Mahommedans are offering him anything he likes to keep him happy. Yet it is as

though Christ had caught him and was slowly bringing him to land in spite of his struggles. Of course we know He will not land him if the struggles really continue, but I cannot help hoping he may be brought in now. It is essentially a case for prayer. I feel even here on the spot I can give him no other so effectual help as this."

"March 16.—At this moment as I write the blind Maulvi has come in to see me. I believe he is now thoroughly in earnest and that in all probability he will leave the Mosque again, and come to us in a day or two and then be admitted as a Catechumen after a few days' probation. I believe, God knows. Certainly his whole temper and manner have altered for the better in the most remarkable degree. He is quieter and humbler than I should have believed a couple of years ago he could ever be. If it is as I believe really the grace of God working in him, the result ought to be very great. I can imagine him one day exercising a great influence in Delhi. He will have, however, to be largely recreated first; but that is just what he can be in Christ Jesus."

"March 24.—You will be glad to hear that the blind Maulvi is now living in the house of our leading native preacher, having left the Mahommedans (as I believe) in good earnest once and for all. He came three days ago. It has been a long anxious time, when we could do nothing but pray. I was determined not to put pressure on him in any way to come; to let him feel, if I may so say, that I did not want him the least unless he was really being drawn by Christ, in which case he would not want much pressure from me. Of course, in such method of dealing one always risks much, and perhaps sometimes one who might have been brought in by more energetic personal dealing fails altogether. But I think when it does succeed it yields the truest and firmest fruits. I believe he has now thoroughly taken stock of the whole position and came because he felt he could not help it. His manner has changed in the most extraordinary degree. I go to teach him an hour daily, and as he sits before me listening quietly and humbly it sometimes seems almost a dream that it can be the same man as used to rave in the streets two years back. Through it all we have to remember that to feel quite sure of where you are with these people, or to rely on their steadfastness, is almost impossible. We have had cases before which we have thought almost as certainly signs of God's working, and they have turned out to be either deliberate hypocrites or quite unstable. So much so that one hardly wonders at the attitude of disbelief which the

ordinary Anglo-Indian takes up towards the whole question. Still it is obvious that many failures, while they may legitimately (and I am sure are meant to) teach us great caution and slowness in action, cannot justify us in giving up the conviction that sooner or later God will call them, and really work in them as He has in other countries, and recreate them : and I believe this is such a case. Should it turn out otherwise we must not be unduly discouraged but expect the next. So far the Mahomedans have made no sign whatever. I think it is very likely they will not this time, for I believe during the last months they have felt him gradually slipping away from their power and from the sway of their thought ; and having done all they could in every way, bribery, argument, threats, etc., they now feel they may as well accept the inevitable. This is how I at least interpret their present quietude.

"I am having poor nights and that makes poor days. You know I am down in the city house. The mosquitoes are simply magnificent. Last night I went on to the roof, as it is now warming up rapidly, to try and escape them. There was, however, such a chorus of stray dogs making the night hideous with their row all round the house that sleep was difficult, and not rendered easier by the parting message of the man watching the house as I went upstairs, 'You had better take a good stick with you as the monkeys sometimes come round at night.' They are perfectly harmless, I believe, but they are great big brutes and the prospect of a nocturnal visit did not soothe my nerves. However, my nerves are not a delicate part of my organisation, and I don't know that it made much odds.

"There is a leading druggist here, a Mahomedan, who has been my chief antagonist (ever since the blind Maulvi, who was his great ally, lost heart in the cause) in the Bazaar and everywhere ; though in a private capacity we get on well together. Yesterday morning Carlyon, myself, and two of the Baptist Mission clergy were in committee discussing the affairs of a new cemetery which Government has recently given us, when a note was brought me from this man with a lump of camphor. The note literally translated ran, 'The market of death is brisk among us to-day ; many lives are wrapped up in your life, and the desires of many unsatisfied ones are realised in you. Do take care of your life. May God protect you, and please keep this camphor constantly on your person.' Camphor is the preventive they chiefly believe in. It was touching, wasn't it ? Later in the day I went to

thank him for it. There was a disreputable old — Mission Christian sitting there. The latter addressed me as 'Padre Sahib,' when the Mahommedan said: 'Shut up! What do *you* mean by calling him Padre? He is *our* Padre Sahib,' as though he had an infinitely prior claim on me to a — Mission man, at any rate such a disreputable specimen of the genus. I don't know what it means, but I believe something is working in his heart too; anyhow, it is a gift of God to be very grateful for that he has allowed me to have this kind of intercourse and popularity with the Mahommedans; and cause for infinite sorrow and humility that I use it so little to the glory of His Name. Pray for us.

"I was reading with the blind Maulvi yesterday when a respectable Mahommedan, an official in the mosque in which he used to live, came to the door. When admitted we found out, after a little beating about the bush, that he had come to ascertain the truth of a report that is about the city that the Maulvi had repented again of his action and wished to rejoin the Mahommedans, whereupon I, with laudable promptitude, had poisoned him and sent his body to Lahore for burial! They are an interesting folk in many ways. I sent very respectful thanks to those who had formed so high an idea of my capabilities and decisiveness as a religious teacher. I think the rumour expresses what *they* would uncommonly like to do if they got the chance. The Maulvi's reply was nice. After saying that on the whole he felt rather alive and kicking, he added, 'There is this element of truth in it, that I have no doubt died *to you* and to my old life.' I had been reading Romans vi. with him the day before. He had been greatly struck by it, and I expect this had stuck in his mind. After much hesitation we have decided to baptise him on Saturday, Easter Eve. I hope there won't be a row. I don't think there will, but on such occasions there is rather apt to be. In all such cases, after the experience we have had, we cannot but rejoice with trembling, but I do rejoice. So far as any judgment can go he is being really laid hold on by God's Spirit, the rest the future will show.

"We hope also another nice fellow, a Brahman clerk in the D.C.'s office at Rohtak with two or three little children, may be baptised at the same time. He has been thinking of it for some long time, but recently got very much more decided, and has now taken a month's leave and come into Delhi to be baptised. He was all right and very firm and happy the day before yesterday, though his wife was in a very sad state, opposing him utterly and almost ready to kill herself.

Yesterday morning, however, we heard that late the night before he had heard that his wife's people were very ill at a town some hundred miles off, and had gone with her to see them. I do not think there is anything wrong on his part but I have no doubt the report of sickness was only got up to get him away, and one cannot tell what will happen."

A fine train incident.

"*May 5, 1892.*—The blind man, Ahmed Masih, is no longer here. I took him to Karnal last Wednesday to spend a month with Papillon to try to really master the characters of the Bible for the blind. I have one volume of it in Urdu. It is, of course, difficult for him, but if he can once acquire it the gain will be enormous, and I think now he will acquire it. We had rather an amusing scene in the train going down. I took him with me in what is called an intermediate class carriage, above the very crowded third class and below the second, chiefly used by respectable natives. The whole carriage is open throughout, the different compartments being only separated by iron bars. We were immediately recognised by several persons and the keenest questioning began. One man said, 'Come now, Hafiz' (literally, a man knowing the whole Koran by heart and always a term of honour), 'tell us what it all means. I heard a rumour in Delhi of your having become a Christian, but I utterly refused to believe it, for I had heard you preaching and arguing with the Sahib before, and I thought you were the most obstinate individual in Delhi.' The questioner was a Hindu, and did not mince his words. The Maulvi replied very simply that it was perfectly true whether they could understand it or not; that he was a Christian and hoped to live and die as such. Then there was a pause, after which the same questioner coming close up to the bars said to me: 'Now, Sahib, do give us a discourse. I don't want controversy or anything. Just preach to us and tell us what it all means. We are all men of one faith in this compartment' (I found they were Jains, degenerate descendants of Buddhism), 'and we want to know what it all means.' I tried, of course, in response to such an invitation, but could not get far. As an Oriental he was bound to begin controversy and propound speculations, and I found they really were to all intents and purposes hopeless and avowed atheists with whom it was almost impossible to get any common ground at all. However we got on well together, and when we neared the station, a respectable town of 12,000 or 13,000 inhabitants between Delhi and Karnal, they said: 'Now you must get out and

stay the night with us. . There are plenty of people here interested in these things ; and in the morning we'll get up the biggest meeting ever you saw, and we'll put a Hindu, a Jain, and a Mahommedan, and you can all talk and things will go on like a house on fire.' They were very keen and it was not easy to refuse them, but I felt pledged to Papillon, and besides I did not want the new convert to get plunged at once in the waters of controversy ; so I said I had an appointment which I must keep so could not stop then, but would try to come back as I should enjoy such a meeting very much. Now I have written to ask whether they will arrange for one next Tuesday."

CHAPTER VIII

LEFROY AND ISLAM (*continued*)

A sequel to the train adventure.

" May 12, 1892.

"I THINK I told you in my last of a meeting to which I had been invited for religious discussion at a town a little distance out of Delhi. It came off the day before yesterday, and though not altogether a success, was by no means a failure. The chief difficulty was the presence of a number of Delhi Mahommedans who came down on purpose. They will let me go nowhere alone now, but follow me about to preach against the Faith. I hope it shows at least that they have a certain sense of their position being pressed. When I went down to the train at 4.45 a.m. there were about a dozen of them. We all got into the carriage together and chatted away with the utmost friendliness, for we are on excellent terms personally. But at the time of meeting for discussion they made it difficult in various ways. It was a curious scene! an upper room not nearly large enough for the purpose, packed to overflowing with people of three creeds, Mahommedans, Hinduism, and Jainism (a degenerate survivor of Buddhism), and of all ages and social positions. I suppose there were 300 in a room that we might consider would hold 100. There were four speakers, one of each of the above faiths, and myself. I was most courteously treated. I had to speak first, which in a kind of way is bad, at least one gets in a controversial kind of way to think so, as it leaves the others to take away the taste. However, little or nothing was said directly against what I said on our Faith; and I do hope that if there were any there whose hearts have been in any way touched by God and made conscious of sin, they may have felt the difference in the style of the appeal. I had prepared a long address, but when the time came I found we were very limited, as some had to go back to Delhi by an evening train, so we had only half an hour apiece.

This was rather fatal. I spent most of the time not in actual statement of Christianity, but in drawing out the temper and conditions in which the search for any true faith must be made in order to have a success. In some ways one scarcely likes giving up such an opportunity to such merely preparatory work: but this preparatory work must be done and it is no good for us to try to hurry matters. It is not the quickest method that always yields the most lasting fruit. It was sad to hear the Jain lecturer get up and argue for either black atheism or absolute agnosticism. Would God one could get some light to them."

"May 31, 1892.—Another Bazaar preaching has just intervened and I am more or less in the usual state. It was rather a stormy one, yet not on the whole bad. I managed to keep my hold fairly on them, and carried at any rate some of the best with me, if not in all my arguments, yet in the sense of a better tone and way of dealing with such things, than my opponents showed. Once a man went on persistently breaking in with some rude and almost blasphemous questions, so after waiting a few moments I said, 'Shame, shame on Mahomedans who will stand and listen to such stuff and laugh instead of being indignant; for your own honour turn him out!' and they did right away and listened quietly for a few minutes. I had a tremendous meeting last Friday, the biggest I have yet had in the Bickersteth Hall, which will prove I believe of immense value in my work. It was not a particularly satisfactory one, but all works together, I hope, for the great end. It is so hot and I am so streaming I cannot go inside, and the light has failed so utterly I cannot see my lines so I must stop. The blind man came back from Karnal to-day. He has almost mastered the alphabet for the blind; I am greatly pleased. If he really ponders God's word he must grow. I do not want him to preach publicly yet; it would make a great excitement and I should fear that he has still too much of the old Mahomedan controversial blood in him to be able to stand the attacks of the Bazaar well; but to talk quietly with a few who are interested, and explain what he has found in Christ, is a thing which I trust and think he will do well. It was a great delight to me last night on coming back from the Bazaar, after a very fairly good preaching, to find him sitting in this way with three men round him talking quietly and well. If God's grace is really with him this will do more than much Bazaar preaching, for he has plenty of ability and seems really getting a hold of the Gospel. They are certainly wonderfully abstemious. When

I saw him thus in the evening (I had not been at the house during the day) I said to my companion, at whose house he is living, 'Has he been down here all day?' 'Yes,' he said quite casually, 'he has been here: he hasn't had any food yet.' This was 8 p.m. and he came down here at 7 a.m. He may have had a mouthful before he came, but certainly not more, very probably not that, yet it was not regarded as anything remarkable. Is it any wonder that they look on us as poor creatures of a very inferior kind, who make a terrible fuss if we go without one of the many meals with which the day is crowded? Religious teachers indeed! Bloated aldermen rather is what they really regard us as."

At length there came to Delhi their old Head on a memorable visit from Japan.

"Feb. 2, 1893.

"We are having at present the very great delight of a visit from our dear old Head, Bishop Bickersteth, of Japan. I suppose there is hardly any one in the world to whom I can talk on Delhi matters with such entire freedom and comfort. He is regularly my master. I always look up to him as having started me on lines of work here, and what we owe now to the impetus he gave us ten years ago, it is hard to say. He also knows, of course, all the ins and outs of the place perfectly; he is as interested in it as I am; and lastly (or not lastly for there are a dozen other reasons) his later experience is in some respects so similar to my own. Of course his sphere is enormously larger and more responsible, but in our respective spheres our positions are very similar: so to compare notes and ask advice was very delightful—and all the subjects we got through! the increase of the Indian Episcopate, the development of our Rohtak scheme, some pretty deep Theology, and so on. He was very keen that I should not consider six men a final limit of our band in Delhi itself. He was surprised and delighted beyond measure at our educational work, which surpassed all he had dreamt of; but you know this department never had his fullest adhesion, and while he does not grudge the large amount of strength it absorbs, yet he thinks that if it needs so many, we should increase our whole staff so as to have more men at leisure to help me and do more direct evangelistic work."

"Feb. 16, 1893.—The Bishops Barry and Bickersteth have come and we enjoyed them both, especially the latter. With

Bishop Barry I had a talk about the Archbishop's speech (Benson's) on Mahommedanism and the effect it had had here. He said he had been greatly surprised and dismayed at the speech, and that he thought the Archbishop ought to know the sort of thing I was telling him. He wanted me to write direct. This, however, I said I was not prepared to do, though I am getting up the subject for my next occasional paper and will express my views with some clearness I hope then. I believe the Archbishop always reads our papers. Then Bishop Barry said that though he could not write direct to the Archbishop he could to Bishop Davidson, and if I would put down on paper what I had said he would forward it; so I am going to do this.

"I was so very grieved to hear yesterday of Phillips Brooks' death, you know how much he has helped me, and he felt very warmly towards our work."

It is only right to give here that part of the speech of Archbishop Benson to which Lefroy alludes. It was made at the annual meeting of the S.P.G. in St. James's Hall on Thursday, June 16, 1892. The Archbishop, after a generous survey of the religions and philosophies of the world, said :—

"We often do undervalue the importance to mankind of such a religion as Mahommedanism. I would say that those who know Mahommedanism best, know that in many directions there are noble characters formed under its influence—men of justice, men of piety, men of truth—whom all who know them intimately respect. These characters are the strength of that or of any other religion. It is not what is to be found in books, what is to be said or prayed in temples which are its true strength—the pillar of its strength—among the populace. When we find Mahommedanism so hard to break, so irresistible, so impregnable a citadel, so impenetrable a rock, it is not because it is a religion which ministers to pride, to lust, and cruelty. I deprecate very much setting to work—I do not believe we shall ever succeed if we set to work—believing that the religion of any nation which God has allowed to grow up in it, and to be its teacher up to this point, until Christianity is ready to approach it—I do not believe we should succeed if we held that the religion itself ministered to pride, to lust, and cruelty. It would be as reasonable if we were to impute to the Gospel the sins of London. We know what the sins of Mahommedanism are, but do we not know what the sins of Europe and London are? Do we not know what the sins are of other places where the Gospel is preached most earnestly and sedulously? We mistake if we do not look at the root of the evils; you must look into the region of human nature, and first accept a religion as having done what it could

for the moral and spiritual welfare of its followers : having done that, and in that spirit, you can move forward, and offer yourselves as those who have a more excellent way to present to the nations living in the faith of these old religions. Mahommedanism does form high characters. No one can go into a Mahommedan place of worship without being struck by the evidence of sincerity, gravity, absorbedness, and solemnity in the worshippers. We must not approach them as if they knew they were themselves deficient, and that it was only pride and obstinacy that prevented them from listening to us. We must go to them acknowledging that God has brought them a long way on the road to Him. We must take them up where they are, and remember that they do not look upon themselves as behind Europeans or the English nation. They look upon their sacred books as an advance on Christianity, and until we are able to meet them on their own ground, until we have thoroughly mastered theirs, until we know exactly what their position has been in the formation of character and thought—unless we recognise the deep spring of devotion they exhibit, unless we are prepared to find the formation of noble characters among them due to the same cause as the formation of noble characters among ourselves—we shall have no chance in dealing with a religion like Mahommedanism. It is a religion which requires to be thoroughly understood and deeply mastered. We want the colleges, we want the institutions and the great students who shall fortify and prepare our missionaries, to send them out, not with the idea that being Englishmen and Christians they ought at once to carry everything before them, but with the notion that they have a fierce battle to fight, a hard strife to encounter, and that they must be prepared to follow misbeliefs and misunderstandings to their very root and origin. The stubbornness of the Mahommedans in resisting Christianity gives me more hope of what they will be when we have gone to them, properly armed to face them—to those who fully believe they could come to London and improve it, and give us a purer and better religion than our own—their stubbornness in maintaining and supporting their religion gives me more hope than the levity with which some nations are ready to give up old truths and take up a new religion, which they think will lead them to Western civilisation and wealth.”

Lefroy makes answer in a note in his “Occasional Paper,” first writing in the body of the Paper—“First, a word as to whether it is right to look for, or to expect to find, such positive blots, such grievous errors in an alien creed at all.” He then appends a note :

“The consideration of the point was suggested by the speech of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury at the Annual S.P.G. Meeting of 1892 as reported in the August number of

the *Mission Field* of that year. It must be with the extremest deference that I venture to dissent from the views of his Grace, to whom we owe so much and to whose teaching we so heartily look up. To the praise which he bestows on certain sides of Mahommedanism we (I am speaking for myself and my brethren at Delhi) desire to offer no objection. Undoubtedly the lesson on which he insists, that Christian missionaries must recognise the good in it and other non-Christian systems more fully than often they have done, is one that we need to lay to heart. But we here cannot help perceiving the danger in ignoring, as he seemed to do, the positively evil side, not only in the character of its professors who do not live up to their creed, but in the religion itself. To show how liable his speech was to be misunderstood I may mention the following. Only a few weeks after its publication a Mahommedan gentleman—one with whom I have much intercourse and who is prominent in our meetings in the Hall—came to me in great triumph. He had been referred to the report of the speech by an Englishman as showing how mistaken the attitude of the missionaries was in regard to Mahommedanism, and how far the leading authorities of their Church were from endorsing it. He burst in upon me with, 'Well, now at any rate you must admit that if you still resist the truth and refuse to recognise Mahomed as the Seal of the Prophets, it is simply your obstinacy and hardness of heart, for you see the Archbishop of Canterbury has himself accepted him!' 'Scarcely that,' I replied. 'Well,' was the retort, 'if he does not say so in so many words, and of course, occupying the position he does he could not do that, it practically follows from what he does admit.' I know it is not fair to hold any one responsible for the distortions, or entire misapprehension of his words, but I simply state the impression that was left on this gentleman's mind, and, as I know, not on his alone."

In August, 1892, Lefroy mentions the great excitement caused by a pamphlet published in the Punjab by the Rev. T. Williams, of Rewari. No doubt the cause of it was the speech of Archbishop Benson, and was a reaction, an unfair and provocative attack upon the character of Mahomed. A deputation of the Moslem community waited upon the Lieutenant-Governor at Simla, and the pamphlet was withdrawn from circulation. As I have been unable to examine this pamphlet I can give no accurate account of it. Experience teaches that unbalanced utterances on the one side lead to

the same errors on the other side, I believe it will be acknowledged that Lefroy held the balance true.

The story of our Indian brother's path upward and onward reads like the working out of a drama, followed by all of us each step of the way with prayers and at length with thankfulness and with nothing but sympathy.

Falling back.

"*March 1, 1893.*—I have a most sad piece of news to give you. Last Friday the blind Maulvi left the Faith and made confession of Mahommedanism in the great mosque here. The shock is the greater because up to the very last moment it was wholly unexpected either by me or by any of our native Christians. For some few weeks I had not been happy about him myself, and feared things were going wrong: and early last week he came and told me the allowance I was giving him to live upon was not enough and he must have more. I was giving him intentionally a small amount because it is of extreme importance to show in the beginning of our work, and especially in a notable case like this, that we will not offer money inducements to a man to become a Christian. But it was enough for actual needs. I told him I could not, in duty to himself and the principle at stake, increase it. He then said he must go elsewhere and try to better himself in some other Mission. I pointed out to him the danger he would be in if he once gave such considerations a dominant place in his mind, but said he was perfectly free to go where he pleased as he was a servant of Christ's not of mine. On Thursday, as he said definitely he wished to go to Lahore, I gave him a letter of introduction to Mr. Shirreff, the able and excellent C.M.S. missionary there, and money for the journey. I was uneasy about him. That evening I went out for a few days in the district and on Friday at the big prayers at midday, without a syllable to any of our people, he went off and turned Mahommedan and was immediately sent off to Bhopal (a strong Mahommedan native state in Bengal) under the charge of a well-known Delhi Maulvi. You can imagine how great the sorrow is to all of us and specially to me. How long the deterioration has been going on or when it commenced I cannot say. Sometimes I think even now that till the last he did not mean to take this step but was over-persuaded and threatened into it. The sorrow is very great, yet even now I can believe and perhaps in some faint measure see

that God will not suffer His work to be injured through it, but out of man's evil will somehow good will come."

"*March 23, 1893.*—The blind man is back ; by no means satisfactorily, and with still very much of doubt about the future ; but still I believe really sorry for what has happened and wishing to be with us. May God deepen his repentance and make him more humble and distrustful of self, and therefore more steadfast and strong for the future."

"*March 30, 1893.*—The blind man goes on very well indeed and I really have higher hopes of his being a true spiritual Christian than I ever had before. Last Sunday was arranged for his confession in Church and pardon, with at the same time penance imposed, of exclusion from Holy Communion till Christmas, to occupy till that time the place of penitent. The effect was very great indeed upon him. He faced it, however, I believe in the best spirit possible. At his own request he spent the whole of Saturday alone in the church preparing for the ordeal. I went for a short time and sat by him reading Heb. xii. and trying to explain Christian discipline : that it is not meant merely to humiliate and crush, but to chasten and elevate and is a proof of God's love. He was very nice over it, and on Sunday the service, though very sad, was I believe true and helpful. He is still here, the future is uncertain. He must leave Delhi for a time certainly, but where he should go is not yet settled, probably Lahore. I am going on my roof for evening prayer every night this week and watching the Paschal moon waxing and trying to think what it must have meant to our Lord when He watched it waxing each night from the Mount of Olives and realised all that it meant to Him when it should reach its full."

"*May 17, 1893.*—The great thing, I wish I could attain it more, is to feel that one is not meant or wished to do more than one can find time to do thoroughly and quietly. If one could stick to this how infinitely more lasting and better value the work one did would be ! But it is not easy."

"*Delhi : Sept., 1894.*—You asked in one letter about the Mahommedan belief in a coming ascendancy of the Christian Faith. I am quite familiar with the thought, and believed I could lay my hand on some definite statement of theirs concerning it, but this I have not yet been able to do, though I have looked through one or two books. They certainly do hold that there will be a great apostasy before the end, and the Cross will largely triumph till, a strange conclusion, our Lord Himself will return, alighting on a minaret of a mosque in Damascus, and vindicate again Islam as the true Faith ! . . .

"The blind man was married last Wednesday. He had long wished to take this step. I do feel the difficulties of loneliness, want of attention, etc., imposed on him by his blindness to be so very real and so difficult to be adequately met in any other way. He had seen something (without eyes) of a girl from our Boarding School who had been working for some time in the Hospital. She is herself of Mahommedan extraction, though brought up from childhood as a Christian, and this gives them a strong draw towards each other. He is very happy at present, and I earnestly hope the change may make him happier and stronger in his hold on Faith."

For years now Maulvi Ahmad Masih has lived a Christian. He has never tried to emphasise the great change in any unnecessary way by outward alteration of living nor in dress. He has lived in the Mission Compound, and his form is one of the most familiar to visitors; and his house is the one most resorted to by non-Christians, and probably by Christians. His work has been chiefly to preach in the bazaars, and as there are now certain authorised spots for preaching, the authorities impartially allotting these to representatives of different faiths on fixed afternoons, there is none now of the old feeling of antagonism. It is possible now for a small body of Indian Christians to preach at such places without the protection of any European missionary. The situation has changed since Lefroy's days. Of late years Ahmad Masih has been drawn to the problem of Hinduism, and especially of the Arya Samaj, and many of the discussions in the Bickersteth Hall have been between him and a professor of that cult. A parallel instance is that of Professor Ram Chandra, the most eminent of Delhi Christians, who though born a Hindu gave the best years of his life to the Moslem problem. The blind Maulvi is held in high esteem by the Chamar Christians, and often he is chosen as arbitrator to decide cases among them. His intellectual powers are, of course, considerable, since in spite of blindness, and the almost total lack of books for the blind, he is able to keep abreast of controversies. He knows the whole Koran by heart in Arabic. Indeed, he has an amazing power of dialectic. At its best this is exhibited in the wonderful skill with which he can turn even frivolous and obstructionist

objections into opportunities for driving home Christian truth. Of course, any one with such gifts is tempted at times to think more of "scoring off" an opponent and of gaining an immediate victory than of keeping on the higher levels, with an eye to a nobler triumph in due time. This was a lesson which Lefroy always drove home, and it has ever been in the Maulvi's mind. The lesson is of abiding value for all controversialists. It is also of permanent importance to evangelists to remember what are often abiding influences in one who has been brought up in another faith. For example, a convert from Islam does not find it easy to get away from methods of interpretation to which he was formerly accustomed, whether dealing with non-Christian or Christian Scriptures. "A rigidly literal conception of inspiration is fundamental in Mahommedanism, and one of Lefroy's chief efforts used to consist in the attempt to explain and justify the Christian conception, and thereby to cut off at the root whole forests of disputings on verses torn from their context."

The above reflections are condensed from two valuable letters from men who have been in close touch with the Maulvi, and are proud to be enrolled among his friends.

CHAPTER IX

MAHOMMEDANISM, ITS STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS

I HAVE already stated that Lefroy published two articles on Mahommedanism. In 1894 there appeared "An Occasional Paper," and after thirteen years an article in "Mankind and the Church." The following is a summary of his views in the first of these. He begins by saying that he had tried to enter as fully as possible, and with sympathy, into the truths in that religion. And in this connection he speaks warmly of Archbishop Trench's Hulsean Lectures, "Christ the Desire of all Nations," published in 1845, commending them as giving the wise and generous attitude towards all religions. Lefroy could not believe that "any who have been created in the image of God can wander wholly away into the blackness of error." The main points in the pamphlet are as follows: The study of Mahommedanism ostensibly based on the Old Testament and on some New Testament stories in distorted form, is of peculiar interest because of the extraordinary moral problem which it presents, for "nowhere have light and darkness been so interwoven the one with the other. Nowhere have high truths of God and man been so clearly stated, and yet at the same time so neutralised in their practical effect, if not perverted to evil results, by the admixture of falsehood in its system." The strength of Islam consists in belief in One Living God, in the general Resurrection, and in the fact of Revelation followed by an intense guardianship of it. Again, it consists in the position assigned to Jesus Christ; it holds the Virgin Birth and His entire and unique sinlessness. The Ascension is taught, but not the Resurrection, for the fact of

the Crucifixion is denied. His Second Coming is an article of faith ; not, however, to judge the world, but to prepare the way for a great Mahommedan revival. The titles given to Christ are the Spirit of God and the Word of God. Lefroy then turns to the dark side : where the Mahommedan Creed has had fullest and most unrestrained scope, there error has prevented enlightenment, progress, and the happiness of mankind.

"I believe Mahommedanism—and so far as I know all uninspired faiths—to be the reflection of the dual character of man. There are in it still the traces of God's Holy Spirit, there is a feeling upward toward God, but there is also present in it, in very high degree, the craft and power of the devil marring the work of God's Spirit and dragging man down." "Just because I do want that we should be fair to Mahommedanism, I deplore the more that indiscriminate partisanship of it, for I believe it will do the utmost injury to the cause which we have so much at heart, and by provoking a certain reaction will land us again in that position of unreasoning denunciation and unqualified abuse from which we are trying to escape." He speaks, next, of the evils inherent in the Mahommedan system. The conception of God is fundamentally erroneous. Stress is laid on the metaphysical and intellectual attributes almost to the exclusion of the moral. Power being put as a primary attribute, the dominant conception of God is of Arbitrary Will. He speaks of "the arbitrary character of the Quranic morality." There was nothing blasphemous to Mahommed in attributing certain decrees of God about women, "since such decrees are not necessarily and irrevocably opposed to His nature." "All true idea of God as the pattern and standard of man's life, or of a true loving fellowship with Him has vanished." Again, the nature of their worship is fearfully mechanical. The low views of paradise and of its bliss are a very sad fact. Lefroy relates how a Judge of the Sessions Court, "an Englishman without much hold on definite Christian belief, and inclined to an eclectic attitude towards creeds generally," once said to him, "I put Mahommedanism at the very bottom of all other faiths ; short of actual fetishism I think it stands as low as possible." In this connection Lefroy speaks sadly of

Mahommed's own attitude towards women, and refers specially to three of his acts: (a) his declaration that God had freed him from laws laid down for all others; (b) his marriage with Zeinab, the wife of Zeid, his adopted son; (c) the affair with Mary, an Egyptian slave. He concludes by saying, "It should be remembered that Mahommed was not merely a teacher occupying, so to speak, an external position towards the creed which he taught, but his own life down to his most trivial words and acts and habits has been treasured up, and constitutes for all time the standard and pattern of the true believer." "I believe that with the access of power there came a fatal lowering of aims, and of the tone of his whole life till—from regarding himself so long as the mouthpiece of God—he permitted himself first to disregard his conscience, and then to take that last and awful step, in which he is not alone among those whom God has called to noble aims and privileges, of identifying the voice of God with the promptings even of his lower nature, and claiming the divine authority for that which he ought to have repelled as, what it indeed was, the very tempting of the evil one himself."

In 1907 Lefroy wrote in "Mankind and the Church"¹ on "The Attempt to Estimate the Contribution of Great Races to the Fulness of the Church of God." He points out that Islam cuts across racial differences, and impresses upon all it touches the characteristics of a religious system. "It is one of the striking proofs of the strength of the creed of Islam that it does thus force into the background the distinguishing racial characteristics of the people to which it has come." "The Mahommedan type of character is as definite and clear cut a thing as possible." The following points are worth noting in his attempt to do justice to the good in Islam. By it "a need of our own time is met when it is shown on a large scale of human life that a truth about God lies at the base of one of the strongest social and political structures which the world has ever seen, and that this strength and power is due rather to a religious truth than to any maxims of practical morality." "It is the knowledge of God which lies at the base of human life and gives strength to human society." Islam

¹ "Mankind and the Church," by Seven Bishops. Edited by Bishop Montgomery (Longmans).

also makes its power felt from what may be called the institutional side of religion: the regularity of the ordinances for prayer in large bodies is noticeable, "utterly different from a vast mass of modern religious sentiment which is almost Manichæan in its fear of the body and of bodily acts . . . and has almost lost the sense of the power of corporate acts of worship." Notable also is the chivalrous pride which the Mahommedan takes in his faith. "A Christian will allow the name of our Blessed Lord to be abused in his presence far more easily than a Mahommedan would allow the name of his own prophet to be so treated." Nor does he consider ritual unreal or effeminate. "In Islam we find one of the most ritualistic peoples in the world essentially manly and strong." Again, "the brotherhood of believers is another vital and much needed truth which, it may well be, Mahommedan converts will help to reaffirm and press home on the Christian consciousness."

It must be specially noted that these extracts are chosen to illustrate only the good in Islam. The whole article should be read in order to gain the balance on the other side. I have already given the two sides on pp. 97, 98.

The two following letters give the fruits of labour :

New and happy experiences.

"This week Haig and I have been twice, for nearly four hours each time, to a Mahommedan mosque, where we have found a Mahommedan priest and a certain number of his disciples ready and willing to have a really good talk over matters, and on sensible lines with Commentaries, etc., and really very nearly without prejudice and unfairness. I cannot in the least convey to you what it has been to me. It must seem to you very simple and probably the sort of thing you supposed we had been doing all along; but in point of fact, in this particular form, it is to me a perfectly new experience and one of the very happiest and most promising kind. He certainly does load us with blessings, even when we are least worthily using those already received. The chief thing one needs more and more is to remember that all one has is given to one by Him; each such gift by all reason and common sense ought to do so much more to make one humble and yet it may so easily be perverted to an exactly opposite purpose. This is as distinct an answer to prayer as anything could be, and it

is the more pleasant that it did not come originally to me, out it was Haig who came upon the man first, and got the invitation which led on to the whole thing. I do trust now we may be able to keep it up and extend it."

"*Delhi: Aug. 7, 1895.*—We had great excitement down at the Hall last Friday. There is a keen wave of excitement passing over them in connection with our preaching and the meetings have been very largely attended. I had had a discussion, shorter than usual and I think satisfactory, with a Mahommedan on Eternal Life as viewed from the Christian and Mahommedan standpoints. Just as I was closing the meeting a poor looking Eurasian stepped forward and said, 'I want to become a Mahommedan.' Excitement rose to white heat. I turned to the chairman, a Mahommedan, and said, 'Now, you are responsible for seeing that nothing further is said here. If he wants to profess Mahommedanism the mosque opposite is the place. Let him go there.' He was good about it, and with a good deal of difficulty got the man and his own co-religionists out of the Hall and over to the mosque. The Mahommedans were of course very jubilant, and I hear it is all over the city that half the Padres have been converted and the other half are on the brink. On leaving the Hall I learned that the man had been begging from Mr. Papillon in the morning, and not getting any help there had apparently determined to try another quarter. Subsequently, however, I learned that there were further wheels within wheels. It seems that an Association of Mahommedanism which has much influence in the Punjab had sent a rather strong remonstrance to the chief men who come to the Hall, saying that their presence gives éclat to the meetings; if they stayed away others would not go, and urging them to at once discontinue the discussions and attendance. My friends did not like this, so they arranged a little plan with this poor man when he went begging for some help from them, that he should attend the Hall in the evening and make a profession of Mahommedanism. They now point to this as a magnificent result of the discussions, showing how converts are won and entirely silencing the adversary. It is not a very high level to move on, and gives you a little insight into the initial difficulties of utter want of ordinary honesty and moral sense which we meet with in all our work. The result, however, pleases me well enough, for what I want is to secure the continuance of the good meetings at which many hear the Word under circumstances at any rate more favourable, I think, than any others I could get them under."

"*Aug. 14.*—I am having tremendously interesting meetings at the Hall and carrying the war more into the enemy's country than I usually do. I wonder if you know a very interesting little book, 'The Testimony of the Koran to the Holy Scriptures,' by Sir W. Muir (S.P.C.K.). If so that would give you the drift of my last two lectures. The last one was not outwardly a success, for they marshalled a lot of Arabic scholars against me and quoted verses freely, and I am not scholar enough to see the real meaning and correct mistakes: so, though I know my case is really overwhelmingly strong, I had to suffer apparent defeat. It is such experiences, however, that lead to victory. One learns what their lives are and what arguments need to be met. I had a very interesting talk with an able and unusually impartial Maulvi at Karnal last Monday when sitting quietly in scholarly talk, with the Arabic authorities before us. He entirely admitted the overwhelming force of the argument as to the existence of pure copies of the Scripture in Mahomet's time—though he had, of course, his own explanation as to their subsequent corruption and disappearance. This is the ultimate dilemma on which I believe, as learning and some sort of appreciation of other faiths and positions develop amongst them, Mahommedanism must split: there is the very strong assertion in the Koran of the divinity and authenticity of the Bible, coupled with the denial of its leading teaching.

A much later letter, and when he was a Bishop.

"Dera Ghazi Khan: Feb. 6, 1900.

"I had one experience which—after twenty years in the work, was quite novel. A Mahommedan of good family belonging to the place was baptised a good many years ago. I admitted him to priest's orders in Advent. He is plainly much respected in the place. He asked me to come to his house as he wanted me to meet some of his Mahommedan relatives. I went, expecting of course to meet his brothers or other males. There were some of them present, but after a few minutes' talk he said, 'Please come in here, some of the women are in this room.' I went in and to my astonishment there were six respectable Mahommedan women, one his mother, the others I believe wives of brothers, who shook hands with me, keeping their faces of course partially veiled but by no means entirely so, and then listened for ten or fifteen minutes while I spoke to them of the faith. At the end the eldest brother, who is a Mahommedan (the one who has been baptised is the eldest of all), asked me to pray for

him and others of the family that they might have grace given them to follow their brother's footsteps. It was very remarkable altogether, and I thanked God for it. As we came out my Padre brother said, ' Well, they throw the faults and failings of the Christians in our faces often enough, but the fact remains that they wouldn't have dreamt of allowing one of their own Maulvis to go in there, but they trust a Christian Padre ! ' "

CHAPTER X

LIFE AT DELHI—HEAD OF THE MISSION

I HAVE put together in this chapter a series of letters scattered over a period extending up to 1892. Taken together they throw light on Lefroy's happy nature, seeing the humorous side of things: also something of municipal duties, besides a record of his attempt to live in the very heart of the city among the people.

It is hardly necessary to emphasise the warm affection which subsisted between the Cambridge men. The following letter tells of the love and admiration Lefroy had for Allnutt:

“C.M.D. Aug. : 13, 1887.

“We are getting A. started off for his fifteen months' furlough. It has brought out in a very unusual degree the way in which he has won the love and respect of all the boys in the School and College. They got up a testimonial and address in the college entirely of their own motion, and collected over £10, which, considering most of them are quite poor, and that the whole idea of giving *anything* to a Sahib—who is supposed to be the general giver of all things—is quite strange to them, is I think very good. But what pleased me far more, and I am sure touched him very deeply, was the language used on the occasion. In the first place, it was one of the most forcible evidences I have seen of the depth to which our teaching really has affected them, for there was an entire, or almost entire, absence of the ordinary Oriental bombast and grandiloquence, and a simplicity and directness which was quite Western. And conformably to this, the expression of the emotions was evidently so perfectly genuine and sincere. As W. said to me coming back, ‘I wish some of those who don't believe in educational work as a true and right branch of Missionary effort, could have been there

to-night.' I wish indeed they could, and almost more that some of those who look askance at Missionary work altogether and object to us as stirring up religious prejudice and ill feeling. I venture to say it is very few Government officials, even of those who are most punctilious in their adherence to the rules of religious neutrality (a thing of all others most hopelessly outside the natives' comprehension, who have a way of thinking and calling it indifference) could have evoked as hearty and deep an expression of feeling. It certainly does astonish oneself at times; for after all, we are here to upset by God's grace their old faiths and customs, and to recreate the country in Christ Jesus; and it is only logical to suppose that we should be very much hated and objected to; only logical, but somehow hopelessly the reverse of fact. And it has been more than the mere personal expression of feeling that has delighted us for, besides the evidence of a deep general effect having been (or being in process of being) wrought on their whole tone, in various ways, in private conversation or the like, one and another has given signs that he has been personally and directly touched by our religious teaching. I cannot help believing that, with God's blessing, we are working up to a real movement towards Christ in the College, and even now, I believe, if one could be found strong enough to take the first step, as he will surely when the time comes, he would not take it alone.

"The class I am myself teaching, the head one in the College, who will take their B.A. in a few months now, occupies an attitude towards the Bible (in respect of some of its members at any rate) which I have never experienced before: *e.g.* I was teaching St. John xi. the other day, and *à propos* of Martha and Mary, I remarked that, if we were wanting to look at it from an evidential point of view, it had often been noticed as a proof of the Gospel story how perfectly true to themselves all the characters who appear in glimpses here and there in the narrative are. I referred for illustration to Thomas, how he was always inclined to take the more despondent view, *e.g.* that very chapter, and I turned for reference to ch. xiv. 5. I was, however, conscious that there was another more forcible instance in point, but could not at the moment recall it, when one of the boys sitting by me, a Hindu, said, 'Yes, sir, and don't you remember it was Thomas who doubted longest about the Resurrection?' The absolutely sympathetic point of view, so to speak, with which he was following and lifting me over my difficulty touched me very much. And certainly if any man ever deserved

a testimonial and a hearty 'Godspeed' it is A. His work for the last eight years has been simply incessant, and all so well directed and concentrated and full of effect. He found the school in a miserable condition. He has regenerated it; founded the College and carried it on till it takes a high place among the institutions of the Punjab: enriched both with all kinds of special branches of study, military drill, etc.; reformed the whole method of teaching, or is in a fair way to do so; instituted a most flourishing club on the pattern of a young men's club in Cambridge (where he was engaged in parochial work) to which he was much attached. This is quite one of the features of our work now, unique in this part of the country at any rate, and forming one of the links we most value between us and the boys. Add to all this that he has largely influenced the whole educational work of the Punjab."

MUNICIPAL DUTIES

It was to be expected, of course, that Lefroy's practical sagacity should mark him out as a man of affairs as well as a spiritual leader, and the natural result followed. The citizens of Delhi requested his help on the Municipal Council. Lefroy responded, and delighted in further study of human nature.

"Delhi: Oct. 20, 1885.

"You will be amused to hear of the last development of events and the newest opening which is presenting itself to my energies. Local self-government took a mighty development in India in Lord Ripon's time, finding vent chiefly in Municipal Committees, which had indeed existed before, but then as a mere name, while now they have really been entrusted with some powers. There is talk of my being elected by the English residents as member for our ward! What would you say to me as Municipal Councillor? It is not certain however. Some of the leading men have asked me to stand, but by a junior section another man has been put forward, and I have refused to have any fight, though I have accepted the offer if the other man should withdraw, and my election be unanimous. It is, of course, a very open question whether it is right for me as missionary to undertake the work or not, but we have talked it over amongst ourselves and on the whole think it would be right to try, the chief inducement being the contact into which it would bring me with some of the leading men of the city, to whom our

Mission is especially supposed to address itself, but whom we have so far signally failed to reach."

"C.M.D. : Feb. 8, 1887.

"And now we have a good deal going on here. I specially am busy, in virtue of my office of Municipal Commissioner, in connection with the Queen's Jubilee, which we are to celebrate on the 16th inst. (This date has been fixed, because the heat on June 20th would make anything like public rejoicings impossible.) I am responsible for feeding the schoolchildren of Delhi, amounting to about 3000, and the poor people. The last sounds a specially pleasant office, but is so wholly vague as to be I fear in a large city like Delhi almost impossible. From the point of view of my co-councillors, Hindus and Mahommedans, it would be easy enough. With them it is a matter of religion, on any such occasion as this, to spend a certain amount in alms. These usually take the form of a dinner; but the unfortunate part is that from their point of view it does not matter the least who eats it! They have given away so much in alms and if the strong fight their way in first and get the victuals, that is nothing to them, their merit remaining all the same. In this sort of arrangement I need scarcely say I have refused to have any part. I can only join if some clear line of deserving people is drawn and, so far as possible, all within that get their share. This, however, it is enormously difficult to do in a city like this, where the poor may be counted in thousands. I have suggested limiting it to the halt, maimed, blind, etc., those, *i.e.*, who are simply unable to do anything for a livelihood: whether this is the form it will take or not, I do not yet know. All the Committee is clear about is that the money (about £100) must be spent.

"But I have a much bigger thing than this on, and which seems just drawing to a happy issue; and if it does it will be a matter for very great and humble thankfulness. Ever since the late riots there has been a very strained feeling between the Hindus and Mahommedans issuing in all kinds of little annoyances and quarrels. Latterly, moreover, they have taken a leaf out of the Irish book, and the Hindus have boycotted four large Mahommedan merchants. It was a very serious matter indeed, as it meant the stoppage of a very large trade. The Government interfered, and the Deputy Commissioner did his utmost both by argument, and then by the pressure which in a country circumstanced as this is, Government can in a thousand ways bring to bear, to make the Hindus

recommence trade, but could not effect it. Then came the proposal for the celebration of the Jubilee in the Municipal Committee, and I went one morning fully intending to protest against our doing anything unless we first reconciled our own differences. That day, however, I did not seem to have any opportunity for saying what was in my mind; but the next day I went to the leading Hindu and told him that I could not have any heart in assisting in preparations for the Jubilee so long as the city was in the state it was in. I asked him if there was no possibility of some solution being arrived at. He said that he thought it was possible if there were some go-between who could bring the parties together without compromising the dignity of either. I then went to the leading Mahommedan. To cut the matter short, I have had a number of interviews with men of both sides, with independent Hindus and independent Mohammedans, with boycotted Mahommedans and boycotting Hindus, and this evening I found they had met together and drawn up a Committee of ten persons, five Hindus and five Mahommedans (installing me and another Englishman whom they had asked me to associate with myself in the matter as of more standing and repute in the city, as presidents), who pledge themselves to stop the boycotting and then attempt to arrive at some amicable settlement of the religious differences. The paper has not actually been signed, and therefore it may still fall through, but I am every minute waiting for it, and if it comes, I shall indeed thank God and take courage."

Municipal sanitation.

"C.M.D. : June 17, 1887.

"The conservancy of the city is very bad, the mortality being, according to the doctor, higher almost than is known in any other city supposed to be managed in all decent European habits, ranging from fifty to seventy per thousand, while London is, I believe, not much over twenty. Just at present the doctor and Deputy Commissioner are in a state of great excitement about this, as they well may be, and are trying to find remedies. Chief among them, as they believe, is an entire alteration of the status of the Municipal Committee in its relation to the sanitation of the city. This relation is, they tell me, quite unique, or almost so, and ahead (so to speak) of the position occupied by the most daring local self-government corporations in England. The point is this: that whereas Municipal Committees elsewhere universally appoint one man, usually their secretary, whom they pay to carry out all the executive work of the Board, reserving only a general

right of supervision and of dropping on the secretary if any of the regulations of the Committee are not carried out in his ward. Here in Delhi it is otherwise, for here each member is himself in direct executive charge of his ward : all the conservancy staff being directly responsible to him and to him alone, and the secretary occupying little more than the place of an office clerk to keep accounts, write reports, etc.

"This plan, they say, is hopeless, most of all when the Committee is composed of Orientals who, on the one hand, don't know and haven't got the least idea what an Englishman means by cleanliness ; and, on the other, believe rates of mortality and all such matters to depend so absolutely and directly on the fiat of the Divine Will that nobody but, an impious Englishman would dream of trying to alter it by attending to such details as drainage, waterworks, etc. They want, therefore, to upset the present arrangement and put all direct authority into the hands of an English secretary, thus securing centralisation and uniformity of action on the one hand, and the prompt and business-like habits of our nation on the other. So far so good, and certainly the case is a strong one, but now comes the difficulty. Full of this intention, they came to one of the monthly meetings of the Committee and, *à propos* of a proposition which only most indirectly involved the question, and which, when circulated beforehand, had given neither me nor any of the other members the smallest idea that such a very large and vital question would turn up, they sprang their mine on the astonished Committee. Now, *per se*, this did not commend itself to me, as I think that if there is the name of freedom, there ought to be at least some attention to the forms of freedom, and the fullest notice ought to have been given of the intention to introduce such a matter. Secondly, I knew how vital a question it was, for without approving of it, it is a simple fact that what makes the natives at present, here in Delhi, take a good deal of interest in the municipality, so that there is a good deal of canvassing at election times, and representatives of some of the best old families are on it, is just the little direct authority which, under the system I have described, they do wield, and this is unspeakably dear to the mind of an Oriental. That they make all kinds of bad use of it, employ their authority to annoy personal enemies in a thousand of the pettiest ways, use their staff of men largely to carry out their private affairs, etc., goes without saying ; and all this might have been, in my opinion would have been, a most amply valid reason for never entrusting them with the

privilege of self-government at all. When however it has been given them, to take it away is a different matter, except on the most patent and entire incapacity *beyond* that which must have been well known and assumed at the time of the passing of the Act; and I had little doubt that if it were now done it would cause the deepest dissatisfaction, lead probably to the withdrawal of most of the present members and certainly put an end to all attempt at independent action, and reduce them to what they originally were, a mere consultative body, whose views and advice were more often disregarded than the reverse.

"All this made me feel it very difficult to go in with the authorities while the responsibility of opposing and perhaps upsetting them on a question involving the sanitation of the city and the lives perhaps of thousands was obvious.

"But now you will ask very naturally, 'Why should it so very much matter what your particular views were on the point, and what probability was there of the Deputy and the doctor being in the least affected by them?' The way of it is this, and it is a curious illustration of the way out in a foreign country, where Englishmen are rare, you may get almost pitchforked into a position entailing an authority and a responsibility which many years of experience would very likely not bring to you at home. Left alone with English officials, the natives are merely like driven sheep, and never think of opposing them. If, on the other hand, they have any Englishman to give them the lead, while they still most fully recognise and tremble at the official status of the Deputy Commissioner, yet if they feel strongly and are strongly appealed to, they may be made to move with us. However, on this particular occasion I was not alone, but there was another independent Englishman who was prepared most fully to act with me, if not to lead the way. Finally I felt moved, and spoke for some time, pointing out the difficulties of the position, and finally appealing to the Deputy Commissioner not to press the matter to a division now, but postpone it till due and explicit notice of it had been given and a special meeting convened to consider it. When I sat down, the Deputy Commissioner knew, on the one hand, as I did, that unless he abandoned all pretence of free discussion and voting, and simply fell back on his personal authority, he could not carry his point; and on the other, he and the doctor are personal friends of mine, and always treat me with the most extreme courtesy and kindness: so the notice was withdrawn and has not yet come on again."

In 1890 the Cambridge Mission determined to hire a house in the centre of the city in order to get into touch with the people. At the same time they determined to print a series of Papers to set forth the Faith :

"C.M.D. : March 11, 1890.

"We are trying another rather interesting little experiment just now. As you know our house is some way outside the city, and consequently people, in this lazy, unenergetic land, are slow to come to us, and we are not 'en evidence' to the extent we should like. We have now hired a little native house right down in the very heart of the city in one of the little squares where traffic is busiest, and I go there pretty often in the mornings and sit most of the day. I have my books and my work, and my teacher comes for my Arabic lesson, etc., so I am occupied in any case ; but I also hope that some may realise my accessibility in a way they could not have done hitherto and drop in for talk and inquiry. Hitherto the result has been remarkably small. Still I think it is a right step, if only as putting us, as I say, more 'en evidence.' It is not compatible with the rules of our common life to go and live there, or it is what I should dearly like to do ; and I believe one could get a hold of some if one were to. How far it would be compatible with the rules of physical life I am not quite sure."

"C.M.D. : March 24, 1890.

"I am writing this now in my little room down in the city, of which I think I told you in my last letter. It is in the very heart of the city, looking into a crowded market with many sights and sounds that would be new to you, some of them attractive, some of them distinctly the reverse. Anyhow it seems to bring me closer to them, even if only in my own thought, for I confess I have not so far been encumbered by the rush of visitors, inquirers, or the like. Still, they may come, and meantime I have my Arabic teacher and work away at languages, sermons, letters, articles, examination papers and what not, and feel, as I say, at any rate nearer the people. And then if hunger takes me (for I come down often immediately after breakfast and stay till five or six o'clock) I can send out into the Bazaar and for a penny procure a variety and amount of comestibles (indigestible invariably, this characteristic departs not from them) which would astonish you. But I have my Etna and a tin of cocoa and milk, and this makes wonderful things go down."

"April 29, 1890.

"I am not at present living with the Brotherhood, but occupying the rooms I told you of in the city. It is very painful to think that we have now been here ten years, and with the exception of the boys in school and college, there are hardly any whom I know personally, or have any real religious influence on. Something I hope one is doing in the Christian Church itself, and that must eventually be the true instrument of conversion: still I cannot help thinking that we might and ought to be able to get into more direct contact with the people than we do. But, separated as our lives necessarily are from theirs, and with the enormous gulf in all kinds of ways that yawns between, it is very difficult to know how it is to be done. A few have come to me here, and I have no doubt that if one could live more as I am for these few days one would gradually get far nearer them. But again this seems impossible. It is incompatible with our idea of brotherhood and common life, and according to ordinary European belief it is mostly incompatible with health and strength. Of this latter I am not so convinced, though doubtless one would have to pay a certain price. At present I am getting on very well. My servant brings me food twice a day from the house. The nights are not a strong point. The mosquitoes are very much in evidence, and then just at present, it is the Mahommedan Fast, during which from sunrise to sunset they may touch nothing: food, drink or pipe. Consequently, they have to get in a good deal of eating and drinking in the night, and to facilitate this a crier comes round about 2 a.m. and makes a tremendous shouting and noise to wake them all up. Then cooking, etc., goes on for an hour or so. Then things get a bit quieter again. It is an interesting experience, and it speaks well for their earnestness and zeal; but as a simple matter of personal comfort and quiet rest, I could consent that they should manage things otherwise. A few weeks since we had the foundation stone of the new College laid with a considerable amount of *éclat* by Sir C. Elliott, the Head of the Public Works Department in India."

Here is a cheering message sent to the missionary :

"February 28, 1888.

"I had a nice little bit of cheer just now when I was feeling rather tired and needing it. An old student of our College, a Hindu of good family, and who, with his brother,

is one of the nicest fellows we have turned out, came to see me. He has left Delhi and is working, together with the brother, in Government employment. We were talking, about the education of women; I was urging it on him, saying what a hindrance it must be to them, as they advanced a little in education, etc., to have such ignorant women in their houses; and I was contrasting it with what English ladies were to us, and my mother had been to me; and he said, 'Yes, I know it is so in England, but it is not so here. Our wives are no help to us at all, and whatever good any of the males of our family have they have got from the Cambridge Mission.' He said it so simply and earnestly and gratefully that it was very pleasant. And then again I was asking him what private reading he was keeping up now that he had left the College, and he said, 'I often read the Scripture. I love the Bible very much and often read it.' He is a boy of remarkable directness and often bluntness in speech, and I do not for a moment believe he would say it if he did not really do so. So we may hope the leaven is spreading 'not by observation,' but the ripening will come some day."

In 1891 the S.P.G. recognised Lefroy, on the nomination of the Bishop, as Head of the Mission; that is, of all the Church of England work carried on in Delhi. The relations between the actual Cambridge work and the rest of the Delhi Mission have been so happy for many years, that my readers will wonder at Lefroy's doubts.

"Delhi: October 28, 1891.

"I know you will be glad to learn that this morning brought me a letter from Mr. Tucker telling me that, on the Bishop's nomination, the Society recognise me as Head of the Mission in succession to Mr. Winter, and 'quasi incumbent' of St. Stephen's Church. The 'quasi' is a little amusing. I wonder how they would define it if I were to press them on the point! This, however, I certainly do not mean to do. They seem prepared to be friendly and straight with us, and I am not going to split straws over words. . . .

"Of course, one of the most difficult of all my works will be the new relation to the ladies. I have plunged into this already, many points (some of them not easy ones) having cropped up already. The day after to-morrow I formally make a beginning. The ladies have all been away for their holidays, and I have asked them to get back by Friday, so

that I may come over to meet them all, have prayer together, and talk over the new departure and work. I know there will be delicate little points. I hope all may go smoothly."

"Nov. 18, 1891.

"The plot thickens about the difficult question of the future of the Mission. . . . I have written now to Cambridge to say I will not take the Headship unless I am convinced that S.P.G. are prepared to trust me, and treat me accordingly. There will, in any case, be very much of difficulty and delicacy in the position which I should occupy towards them, standing in some degree outside their own organisation and rules, and yet managing one of the largest and most important of their Missions; and this would probably become intolerable if we did not at least begin with a spirit of hearty trust and mutual co-operation; much better not to begin such a relation than be compelled to break it off after frictions and unpleasantnesses have arisen. How it will all settle itself I do not know; fortunately higher wisdom does.

"Meanwhile the work, especially in the Bazaar, goes forward definitely. Positive results or visible progress is very, very slow, but to doubt that it will come is to impugn, not human nature but God's handiwork. That they need something to lift them nobody, I think, who has ever come in close personal contact with heathen or Mahomedan, not viewing them entirely through the glasses of the Light of Asia, etc., will deny."

"C.M.D. : Dec. 30, 1891.

"All the points about which I was most anxious with relation to the S.P.G. have either been cleared up, or seem in a fair way to be so satisfactorily. Mr. Tucker recognises that my appointment carries with it the control of the ladies' work; he says the house is at my disposal, not indeed putting this in a quite satisfactory way, as I cannot really be separated from the rest, and he rather shirks the real question of whether they will make it over to us, to modify considerably and to occupy in force. Once, however, they have gone as far as they have, they cannot, I think, draw back from this as the only satisfactory settlement. I am also to be Diocesan Secretary. This is all I want and, as you may say, more than enough. What I shall do with it all, considering that I have already my existing work, much of which I cannot, and, please God, will not give up, is more or less of a problem; but if one has been called to it one will be able to carry it on

for longer or shorter ; and with such colleagues as I have got a man can do anything. It means, as you will recognise, entering on a new year of wider responsibilities and greater trusts than I have ever held. Ask for me humility and wisdom that I may honestly enter on it in strength other than my own, and may have the gifts of the Spirit to carry it through in such measure as it may be appointed for me to do."

It will be easily understood that Lefroy was often urged to give addresses and "quiet days" in places far removed from Delhi. Earlier in his Indian career he undertook a Mission at Karachi, and his correspondence shows how intensely he set himself to prepare for such efforts. The following letters tell of his work in important centres. His voice was not altogether a pleasant one, and chiefly no doubt because he had no ear for music. He used to quote a saying, that he "knew two tunes, the National Anthem and another." But the harshness of his voice was quite forgotten in the tremendous earnestness of the man.

"Simla : June 20, 1893.

"I took all three sermons here on Sunday. It was very tiring, but I think was good value. I took more or less of a new line, dealing with certain popular objections to Mission work with considerable frankness. I was on some delicate subjects. Yesterday I was out riding, and one young officer asked me most keenly after our work, and said he wished I would give a lecture on it, he would so like to come, and he was sure hundreds more would ; and another, an A.D.C. to the C.-in-C. expressed great interest, and said he would value it much if we would let him come and see us and our work when he was marching through Delhi next cold weather. You will understand that this sort of thing is pleasant. It was certainly not by flattery I won them, for on the question of their attitude towards Missions I carried the war into the enemy's country with somewhat uncompromising vigour."

"Cawnpore : Oct. 26, 1893.

"I gave three addresses on Faith, Hope, and Charity. I do not think Hope, as one of the very highest of the Christian virtues, is at all adequately brought out nowadays, either in sermon or in doctrinal books. Certainly out here, under the

conditions of our work, it is a virtue that we stand eminently in need of, and it is distressing to see how often even missionaries fail to have it.

"You ask me about the lad whose letter I sent you to read. He is not a Christian, and, so far as I know, has no thought of becoming one. This is one of the aspects of life and work here that I suspect home people do not at all realise. There are many in his position: lads who have been brought up in Mission schools and colleges who really know scarcely anything of Hinduism, whose whole thoughts have been coloured by the teaching they have received from us, and who reflect it faithfully to a certain extent, and yet have not enough moral earnestness to face the tremendous step of becoming a Christian, or even it may be to receive the deeper teaching, such as that on the Atonement. They are, of course, in a very curious kind of position, neither Hindu nor Christian. It is not a satisfactory one, and yet I am sure it is by producing such that we are most of all preparing the way for the wide reception of the Faith. There is, at least, a congenial soil being made, and when the Heaven-sent native Christian Apostle arises it is to these hearts the message will come with fullest force. At present we lack the quickening fire of the Holy Spirit, or see it only in very rare cases."

The next letter tells of a notable event, the unveiling of Maitland's picture at St. Stephen's College. I give part of Lefroy's speech on the occasion.

"Delhi: Feb. 1895.

"We are having just at present a degree of brightness and hopefulness in our work the like of which I have never known since we came out. . . . We are being met by many evidences of the widespread preparation that is going on in whole classes, and of how much nearer the Faith they are now than, say, twenty years ago. . . . A fortnight ago was a memorable day in our College work. A portrait of Maitland, subscribed for and given by the students, past and present, was to be unveiled. After the picture was unveiled I spoke. Then, out of the programme, a Hindu student stood up and said he wanted to say something. He is a reserved young fellow who keeps a good deal to himself, but with marked ability. What he wanted to say was to make a confession of Christ. Four or five times he said, 'I want to confess something which I never had the opportunity of saying to Mr. Maitland in his life,' and then he stuck and could not

quite get it out. What, however, he did say most explicitly, and without the least fear, was that he wanted to have it clearly understood that it was not the secular education given in our College which he chiefly valued. He said very likely as good education on this side might be given elsewhere, but it was the Christian teaching which was the distinctive characteristic of this place, and it was to it that he owed more than he could possibly say. It had profoundly affected his life. He added that in saying this he knew he was not speaking for himself alone, but that other students felt the same thing. This, remember, was in the face of a hall crammed with students, of whom the vast majority were Hindus and Mahomedans. There were also a few leading gentlemen of the city present, and, what is best of all, so far from there being a single sign of dissent I believe many were really with him as he spoke. Of course I do not mean for a moment that any considerable number would be ready to take so advanced a position, and doubtless there were those who disliked it, but, at any rate, there was no sign of dissent or opposition whatever. And by a strange coincidence, within a few days of this, one of our Zenana teachers was talking to the wife of one of the students, and she said, 'Oh yes, I know a lot of our young men are quite dissatisfied with their present position, and they are only waiting till a sufficient number of them are ready to move together, and they will join you.' When a conviction like this pervades the very homes of the people themselves, may we not say that the battle is half won? How much longer we may have to wait before the actual ingathering begins, we cannot say; but even so, can we not wait? These signs are evidence that the work is telling, and the foundations going in deep, and, please God, true and strong."

The Rev. A. C. Maitland died in July, 1894. He had become acquainted with mission work at Delhi before the formation of the Cambridge Brotherhood, and had assisted the Rev. R. R. Winter in the days when he was obliged through ill-health to leave Cambridge before his degree. After his degree in 1880 he joined the Mission staff at Delhi as an unpaid missionary, and was ordained deacon and priest in 1882 and 1884. Never actually a member of the Cambridge Brotherhood, he was, however, closely identified with them in all their work. He died at Delhi and left a bequest

to the Mission amounting to £7,300, the interest of which has been of signal value to the Mission annually.

George Lefroy unveiled Maitland's picture on February 9, 1895. The following is an extract from his speech :—

"I think one of the very best of all the good gifts which God has given us is the lives of good men, lives which are penetrated and made beautiful by the powers of the Divine life which run through them. . . . To quote from memory the words of a great American preacher, 'Out of the familiar windows of another human life the life of God shines forth.' . . . [Then speaking of Maitland's qualities] One I should like to give prominence to, the intense truthfulness and devotion to duty and unflinching uprightness which was so notable a feature of his life. As you know, these are characteristics in which this great country is not strong. . . . Let me remind you that in getting up this memorial and subscribing to put up this portrait of Mr. Maitland, you not only pay a well-deserved tribute to his memory, but you also incur no slight responsibility. You commit yourselves to the taking of that life as in some true sense the pattern of your own lives. God indeed enable you so to do. . . . The secret of that life, and in this I ask you to accept the authority of myself, was his faith in Christ crucified, risen, ascended. . . . I have done. I stand here in the quiet, deliberate, absolute conviction that our separation is but for awhile, that he is as truly living now as when he lived and moved with us in this place, and I await the day when, before the great throne of God, we shall be united again in that eternal life into which no separation can come."

When Lefroy sat down Lala Bala Prashad, B.A., rose and spoke feelingly of the value he entertained for the distinctive Christian instruction he had received in the college and from his late friend and professor W. Maitland.

ADMISSION OF CONVERTS.

"1896 (in England).

"The famine is causing much distress in Delhi and involves the difficult question of how best to deal with the cases of those who at such seasons always come forward to ask for baptism, influenced chiefly we must believe by purely worldly motives, though in some of these there may possibly have been thoughts working before which have been brought by

external pressure to the surface. Allnutt writes: 'The policy which our past experience seems to suggest is a clear announcement all round that none will be baptised during the time of poverty and famine, and not for at least six months after it may please God to give rain and plenty again.'

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES DURING LEFROY'S DELHI PERIOD

The following memoranda have been sent me. I could not set aside any of them.

Personal reminiscences by Mr. M. N. Dutt, M.A., sometime Professor of Mathematics, Government College, Benares, and retired Government Inspector of Schools, United Provinces :—

"I knew Bishop Lefroy during the nine years 1882-91, when he and I worked together in the St. Stephen's College at Delhi, where I was Professor of Mathematics and Economics. I met him very often at the Delhi Mission Councils also, of which I was a lay member.

"His personality was magnetic. The very first sight of him was enough to make him live in one's memory for ever. He was then a young man, of florid countenance, in the pink of health, and noted for his feats of walking. He would walk for miles and then stand and preach to the people.

"His intellectual powers were of a very high order, though he could not be called a very learned man. What he knew he knew thoroughly, and therein lay his strength. In ideas he was somewhat commonplace, and he neither made a study of the modern movement nor cared for it. He had no doubts, or very few, and was not very partial to those who were troubled in that way. All this made him a good steady-going critic. His refutation of his Moslem disputants at Delhi will be long remembered as both brilliant and masterly.

"He could express himself in the classical Urdu language of Delhi with as much facility as in English. He could talk in Urdu even better than the average native of Delhi. His command of Urdu was the wonder of his brother missionaries, and his popularity with the people among whom he worked was partly due to this intimate knowledge of their tongue. It is sad to see some missionaries working in India lose so much valuable influence because of their ridiculously poor knowledge of the people and their language. One day

Lefroy was preaching by the side of a busy street of Delhi. His Mahommedan Maulvi opponent was holding forth to a large audience near by, criticising the Christian doctrines. When Lefroy began to preach, one of the Maulvi's audience, a Hindu, exclaimed, 'Lefroy Sahib has come and he is preaching. Let us go and hear *him*; he talks Urdu like one of us; in a former birth he must have been a Hindu.' I was present, and I saw with wonder the Maulvi's large audience melting away and growing smaller and smaller until the Maulvi was left alone addressing the air, and Lefroy had all to himself of that evening's preaching.

"Bishop Lefroy's life among the citizens of Delhi was an inspiration, and would be an enduring example of devoted Christian effort of the highest kind.

"Dehra Dun, July 24, 1919."

Memories of Mr. P. L. Singh, Head Master, St. Columba's Collegiate School, Chota Nagpur.

"Aug. 1, 1919.

"My recollections of Bishop Lefroy are connected mostly with the early years of his missionary career at Delhi, before he became the Head of the S.P.G. and Cambridge Mission, and as in those years I was either in school or in college at Delhi, my recollections are those of a schoolboy or a college student. I remember how, one afternoon, we, the inmates of the Christian Boys' Boarding House in the Cambridge Mission Compound, were told that two new missionaries were coming, and I also remember how these missionaries drove up in the Mission trap to the Mission House, and how we welcomed them. These missionaries were Messrs. Allnutt and Lefroy. We of the Boarding House were mostly boys of twelve or thirteen who gave no little of our time to cricket and other games. Naturally the sight of these missionaries filled our minds with delight, for they were quite young, especially at the prospect of their presence at our games, and we looked forward to the time when they would join us.

"Mr. Lefroy's rooms were quite close to us, and so, one way or another, we were able to see a great deal of him. Though we were disappointed to find that he was not a good cricketer, we discovered in quite a short time that he was an athlete of no mean order: he was a good runner, a good tennis player, and a good rider. I remember how we tried to keep pace with him on his way to church, a distance of about a mile, especially in cold weather, when he generally did about half the distance running. He was full of vigour,

and joined us in all our games. He also accompanied us in all our excursions.

"At the very commencement of our acquaintance we were struck with two things: his habit of prayer, and his ability in acquiring our tongue. Before him we knew missionaries that were loving, but from him we learnt that they could also be men of prayer. We often saw him on his knees, morning and evening. As to his ability in acquiring our tongue, that was truly marvellous. In quite a short time he was able to express himself correctly, having the pronunciation and accent of an Indian. Later on I heard some Delhi men say that he spoke like a Delhiman.

"Having such a command of Urdu it was clear that he was the proper missionary to be an evangelist. To the world outside he was, I believe, known as a great bazar preacher. Being a schoolboy and later a college student, I was not able to see much of him at any time, in this department of his life. Yet, whenever I found myself where he was preaching, I noticed that he had the attention of his hearers, and those who know Delhi and its crowd can realise what this meant. It is not every preacher that can preach in the streets of Delhi. Soon after he acquired some proficiency in Urdu he set out to study Arabic to read the Quran. In quite a short time he made a profound impression on all the Mahommedan preachers of Delhi: I may say he raised the tone of all preaching, non-Christian as well as Christian. It was fascinating to see him engaged in a controversy. He seemed as if he was altogether different from his opponents. His opponents strove only to shut him up, not caring in the least what arguments they advanced: while he strove only to lead them to truth, scrupulously careful to see that he said nothing that was unworthy or unfair. Whatever was said by his opponents, right or wrong, he heard most patiently, never losing his temper, or indulging in retorts. He had also a keen sense of humour and that often stood him in good stead.

"I left Delhi in 1890, and so was not able to see anything of him as Head of the S.P.G. and Cambridge Mission, or later on as Bishop of Lahore. However, I saw him, now and again, when he came to Calcutta as our Metropolitan. It was such a joy to meet him. He took the greatest delight in talking about his old Delhi days.

"I had also the joy of welcoming him, with the Mission I am working with, here in Harzaribagh, a few years ago, when we celebrated the coming of age of our Mission. He was here for only a couple of days, but in those two days he

won every heart he came in contact with, Christian or non-Christian, English or Indian. His lecture to educated Indians made a deep impression on their minds and they still sometimes speak of it. He spoke in his lecture about the future of India and its place in the British Empire. Every one present was struck with the broad-mindedness, sympathy and hope with which he dealt with the subject.

"Last I had the joy of hearing from him at the sudden death of our friend Mr. Allnutt. Little did I think that he would follow so soon. They had come out to India together : it was fitting that they should be called to higher work also together."

Mirza Rafi ud Din Beg, one of the leading Mahommedans of Delhi, writes as follows :—

"The late Bishop Lefroy was a great friend of mine. At any rate, I considered him as such, and this was his distinctive characteristic : he was not haughty and exclusive. He sympathised with us even in our thoughts, and acted accordingly. . . . In our numerous religious discussions he showed himself invariably a gentleman, neither pressing his victory too much nor taking defeat to his heart. When he became a Bishop he did not become puffed up, but kept up his old friendships with us just as if he was a private missionary. Hence it is that I lament his death as a personal loss to myself, and still remember him with great affection. . . . When he departed from Delhi, as Bishop of Lahore, I wrote to him, congratulating him on his new post, but adding at the same time a hope that in his official capacity he would do nothing to check the spontaneous growth of Islam."

The Mirza feared that his friend might use political influence in the religious cause. Lefroy answered as follows :—

"DEAR SIR,

"I thank you much for your letter and kind greeting. I value them sincerely as coming from the opponent whom I respect far the most of any of those with whom I have had to deal at Delhi. With regard to using the power of the governing race for the propagation of our religion, I dare say your words of warning are not superfluous, for the temptation to do so in one form or another is no doubt a great one. At the same time, I do know perfectly well that

to give in to that temptation is to be false to my Lord. Not only did He expressly say, 'He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword,' and I am sure that this is not meant to be taken in its literal sense only, but as condemning the use of all unworthy and purely world means for attaining an end which, if it is to be worth anything, must be a purely spiritual one. But also these days through which we are passing remind us Christians forcibly that the way in which the greatest victory which the world ever saw (that commemorated by Easter Day) was won, was not by worldly means but by gentleness, love and perfect obedience. If you will look at the Epistle to the Philippians, chap. iv., verses 6 and following, you will see what I mean. I trust God will give me grace always to keep true to this example. If you are at any time in Lahore it will be a pleasure to me to see you."

The last review of Lefroy's Delhi life must be the personal reminiscences of the Rev. H. M. Weitbrecht Stanton, D.D. They form a connecting link between the Delhi and Lahore periods. I quote, partly from Dr. Stanton's obituary notice in the *Record* of January 19, 1919, but chiefly from a memorandum specially written for the "Life."

"Lefroy not only brought with him (in 1878) a first-class degree in theology, but that sense of the nearness of God in Christ which radiated from his whole life, public and private. The example of a man of affairs, instinct with driving power such as few possess, who always had time for devotion, and used it, profoundly influenced the life of the Delhi Cambridge Mission, and of his Dioceses. Especially were the Indian Christians impressed by it. . . . He had a great love for boxing, and I remember his telling me once how badly he wanted to attend a soldiers' boxing match that was being held at Jutogh. I think he was prevented by pastoral duties, certainly not by fear of man. . . . I have seen him come in from preaching in the city so exhausted that before he could take up business he had to lie down flat on the floor for a quarter of an hour. . . . Lefroy also was strong on the matter of Christian servants. He considered that it was the duty of missionaries and well-to-do Christians to keep, as far as possible, Christian servants. As Bishop he would always conduct Urdu prayers in his chapel for them.

"One of the most delightful times we had together was at the C.M.S. Mission House in Meerut in February, 1895. Nearly three weeks were spent in the revision of the Urdu translation of the Prayer-book, under the chairmanship of Dr. Hooper. This revision had already been done by Bishop French with a company of assessors, but the dear bishop, who insisted on carrying his own opinion, had adopted so much of high-flown Arabic and Persian phraseology that the book was unsuited for the average congregation, and he had also made certain rubrical alterations which went beyond a liberal interpretation of the *jus liturgicum* and caused searchings of heart to the select few who read rubrics. So it was eventually resolved that the work should be gone through to correct these defects. Lefroy and Foss Westcott were among the members, two men marked out for distinction, though we little thought that we had two future metropolitans in our committee. I suppose hardly any other translation of the Prayer-book has this distinction. Time ran a little short at the end of the session and Dr. Hooper very gravely asked whether we should leave out the marriage or the burial service. Lefroy replied that the Cambridge Delhi men found themselves able to dispense with the first, but even they had to provide for the second, and burial was taken! It was clear during this time that Lefroy was riding for a fall in the matter of health. Besides the six hours daily committee work, during which he vigilantly watched especially the relevant doctrinal and liturgical points, he was doing the current administrative work of his mission, and not content with this he insisted that I should read some German theology with him. He specially wanted to be able to read it for his Islam work. I asked him whether he never got a headache when he piled on work like this? No, he said, only sometimes my head gets woolly and won't work.

"I can't remember why it was that Lefroy was not elected a member of the Urdu Revision Committee for the New Testament, but I suppose it was because of the too great strain which even he realised this long-drawn task would have imposed on his powers. Besides this our relations were so close that he knew he could bring to bear whatever he felt to be of importance through the chief reviser. As a matter of fact, he was one of the most faithful contributors to the criticism of the tentative revisions which were sent round to capable outsiders before the sessions of the committee. It was through his help that the best of our non-Christian assessors were secured, and all the arrangements of

the important final session at Delhi in January and February, 1898, were made by him. His readiness to help outside his own immediate work was extraordinary. I have never known him to refuse a request for needed help, whatever the tax it might involve; indeed, I fear that we his friends are partly responsible for the overweight which broke him down. I expressed some apprehension on this point one day to a member of the Mission. His reply was: 'Oh, Lefroy has broad shoulders.'

"My longest and closest connection with Lefroy was from January, 1900, till July, 1911, when I left India. Throughout that time I was his senior examining chaplain and more than once I lived for several months in his house. His was a very live mind, sensitive to interests in every direction and perfectly simple, never hesitating to say: 'I don't know,' or 'I never thought of that,' but very shrewd in testing searching propositions and theories, and often flashing out with clear insight into the heart of a question, yet ever ready to hear the other side. Particularly in religious controversy with Muslims or Hindus he was insistent on the Christian attitude of absolutely impartial fairness.

"He was a constant and careful reader. Travelling suited him well and in the first-class compartment which is accorded to a bishop, as a high official, on the railways, part of his equipment was a neatly designed book box and a travelling lamp which could be fastened up behind the reader to supplement the defective lighting of the Indian railway carriages in those days. When the train arrived at his destination in the night his carriage would be detached on a siding till the morning.

"He was a born organiser and the Lahore diocese gave him full scope for his gift both on the Indian and the foreign side. When he came to us the C.M.S. organisation was in process of recasting with a view to its adjustment to the diocesan constitution. It was an untold help to have a bishop who could give himself to the work with an intimate touch with Indian thought and feeling and also with the experience of a non-established Church in Ireland.

"Lefroy has sometimes been spoken of as autocratic, and he could be at times, but he was always ready to consider reasoned remonstrance. During his absence in England in, I think, 1908, the C.M.S. Central Mission Council, feeling the need of liturgical adaptation and enrichment, appointed a committee to consider details and place their recommendations before the bishop for conference with other missions.

On his return the bishop, hearing of this, sent the secretary of the Council a request to cancel this resolution as he had resolved to deal with the matter himself. It was represented that it was well within the competence of any body of clergy to consult on possible measures of Church reform and formulate their proposals for submission to the diocesan. He agreed and the matter was adjusted, with the result that a good scheme of liturgical advance was drawn up, though its execution, I fear, hung fire after his translation. The development of a scheme of synodal organisation with lay representation began while Lefroy was at Lahore, but was carried out at Calcutta. Meanwhile, when first translated he was very desirous to found a metropolitical see of Delhi corresponding to the Imperial District of Delhi, but this had to be dropped.

"Lefroy's missionary activity as a bishop was naturally in the main of a pastoral nature, and in this he was untiring. Countless were the petitions for settlement of individual affairs which came to him from Indian Christians in things spiritual and secular; some of them very amusing productions. He was specially edified when a letter was addressed to him as 'The Pope of the C.M.S Lahore.' In Delhi he was affectionately known as 'Liffrye Sahib.'"

I close the Delhi period by an extract from a letter written indeed December 12, 1893, but there are many such outpourings to one or other of his home circle, and throughout these years.

"May God's rich blessing rest on you and on me at this time and may our eyes be opened to realise more of the meaning of His coming, Who is the Light of the world and the Son of the Father and the Bond of union and communion between God and man. Working in the cause we are, ought to be the best way to enable us at such seasons to get some deeper glimpse into their true meaning, and then the glimpse should abide by us and stimulate us to a truer zeal and more ready self-offering through the days that come. Certainly no less clear declaration of God's Eternal Nature and of His purposes for us and no lower pledge of redemption and new strength for ourselves would be adequate to meet the needs, and stand the strain of the world we have to work in."

Lefroy's favourite book of private devotions was "The Mantle of Prayer," chiefly from the Devotions of Bishop

Andrewes. He used to recommend this book to the clergy when Bishop of Lahore. And alongside of it there was the sense of humour. A letter written in London in 1896 reveals his nature lighting up life with fun.

" June 5, 1896.

" He told me I had a very strong gouty tendency. I thanked him for what was at any rate entirely fresh information, as I have never had, so far as I know, the smallest symptom of it, nor does he connect it in the least with present trouble. Then as regards the present, he said, after beating about the bush a bit, 'I suppose you want me to give you my opinion, right or wrong?' I intimated it was rather for that purpose I had gone to him. 'Then I think you are in love, and have had a violent shock to your affections.' I thanked him again for further revelations, also wholly new, and asked him to try again. Finally he thought, in a disappointed kind of way, that if I was quite sure there was nothing of this kind, possibly sleeplessness and anxiety might do it, though he evidently preferred the other explanations. Altogether I got as little value from him as I did from a Dublin doctor to whom I went, and who after a careful examination announced to me in a cheery manner, and with the richest brogue, 'Deed, Mr. Lefroy, you're a deal stronger man than I am meself to-day,' an assurance that was satisfactory so far as it went, but not, as I tried delicately to convey to him, exactly what I wanted to know."

CHAPTER XI

THE LAHORE EPISCOPATE, FROM 1899 TO 1905

IN 1899 the first, some will say the unique, phase of Lefroy's ministerial life was brought to a close. For twenty years he had been an evangelist: he was now called to the work of government in the Church as Diocesan Bishop and finally as Metropolitan. This second phase was to extend over nearly the same length of time as the first.

Before entering on his life as a Bishop I put down a few records about the colleagues whom he was about to leave at Delhi. In 1893, C. Foxley joined the Brotherhood; in 1894, F. C. F. Thonger; in 1896, G. A. Purton and Basil Westcott; in 1897, F. P. W. French; in 1898, G. Hibbert Ware and A. Coore.

A summary also of Lefroy's visits to England may be of use.

In 1886, just after he was appointed Head of the Mission, and soon after his father's death, he came home and pleaded for recruits.

He returned to England again in 1889, and preached the Ramsden Sermon before the University of Cambridge on Whit-Sunday of that year. In 1896 a nervous breakdown rendered necessary a visit home, which extended from May, 1896, to the end of 1897. A notable recruit obtained by him on this visit was the Rev. Ferguson Davie, now Bishop of Singapore, and his first domestic chaplain. In 1899, on appointment to the See of Lahore, he came home from May to September.

The following letter indicates his mind in accepting the call:

Extract from a letter to Mrs. Barnard.

" March 2, 1899.

" You will, I am sure, have heard from your daughter that I am going to Lahore. It will be a terrible wrench



CAMBRIDGE BROTHERHOOD, 1894

B. French.
J. W. T. Wright.

W. S. Kelley.
G. A. Lefroy.
F. C. F. Thonger.

G. Hibbert-Ware.
C. S. Carlyon.
G. A. Furton.

A. Coore.
S. S. Allnutt.

leaving the Brotherhood and the happy, strong united life here of the last twenty years—a worse wrench even than I at all realise myself at present, and that is saying a good deal. But both in my own judgment and that of almost every one to whom I had a right to look for guidance at such a time it would not have been right to refuse. We are approaching a very delicate crisis in the development of the Church in India—especially as regards the relation of its English and Indian sections—and it does seem very important to have as Bishops men who know and are in touch with Indians, and who are known, and in some degree, trusted by them. And many kind expressions that have reached me have made me feel that I ought to count myself in some measure amongst such. Of course, England could send out as many men as she wished of ten times the power, but at any rate at the start they would be terribly handicapped by ignorance of the language and thoughts of the people, and at the age at which a Bishop starts, this sort of drawback is not very easily overcome. Anyhow, I have taken it, and I can only hope I have done right, and I know that if the call is of God He has some purpose for me in connection with it, and will enable me to fulfil that purpose if I only leave myself, as I try and pray to do, unreservedly in His hands. And I am sure many are praying for me too.”

George Lefroy was consecrated Bishop in his own cathedral on All Saints’ Day, 1899, by the Metropolitan, Bishop Welldon, assisted by the Bishops of Bombay, Madras, Lucknow, and Chota Nagpur. The Rev. S. Allnutt, who came to India with him just twenty years before, preached the sermon. In the middle of his first sermon as Bishop on that evening in the cathedral he suddenly ceased to speak English, and turning to the large number of Indians present he poured out his soul to them in Urdu. The effect was wonderful, and perhaps it was felt even more by the Europeans present than by those whom he addressed with extraordinary eloquence in their own language. But it was not a sudden impulse. A letter written to his home circle says that he had determined to do this if it seemed right when the moment came. But he was not sure of himself nor was he certain whether it would be expedient. For this reason he had informed no one. There can be no doubt that his action was more than justified. The new Bishop was called

to follow great predecessors, both of whom had made their mark. French, who died at Muscat, having returned to his work as a missionary to Moslems; Matthew, who died almost in his cathedral.

And now Lefroy himself was brought face to face with the work of a Bishop, and had some experience for it as having been Examining Chaplain to his predecessor. He had never held a curacy in a parish, nor had he been brought into touch with the problems of soldiers on foreign service; now he was called to a diocese which contained within its limits by far the largest military establishment in India. Moreover, there was the responsibility of Simla which in the summer is the residence of the Viceroy, and of the Commander-in-Chief, and the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, and naturally a focus for senior members of the Civil Service and of the army, besides being one of the most famous society resorts in India. The Sunday congregation in the church at Simla has often been spoken of with awe by preachers who have a message. Yet Lefroy seems to have taken up quite simply and naturally all his new duties, as if indeed to the manner born. I will group the work of the first five years of his episcopate in this chapter, and his own letters will follow the record of his public utterances.

All who knew Lefroy agree that he had the strongest aversion to what is known as one-man rule. This characteristic balanced another admirably, namely a fearless courage to do what appeared to him right. One who knew him well says, "Lefroy had a stiff back." Once let him believe that a man was not straight or honest, and he had no mercy on him. The moral fibre in him was like iron, and it happened at times during the next nineteen years, that in the interests of the public service he may not have been sufficiently careful at times of the personal claims or interests of chaplains and others. He would move them regardless, so some said, of their health or families or financial liabilities. However that may be, it is notable that in his first charge in 1900, he quoted St. Cyprian's well-known words upon the necessity for a Bishop to take counsel with fellow presbyters and lay people, and announced that he would create a body to be

called "the Bishop's Council," a consultative body, composed of leading European clergy, chaplains, and missionaries, European laymen, and Indian clergy and laymen. "I want the Council to stand for the assertion in the eyes of the diocese, and for a reminder to myself, of what I conceive to be the true constitutional position of a Bishop in relation to the clergy and laity of his diocese and of the lines on which it is my desire to live my own Episcopate."

The other important subject handled in this charge was the Bishop's duty in the military forces.

"I want to refer to the position we under normal conditions occupy as, I believe, the diocese with a larger number of British troops in it than any other diocese in the whole Empire [a few years later, in an article in *Church and Empire*, he says that out of 38,000 European residents in the Lahore diocese, 26,000 were officers or men serving with the colours, with 3000 more who belonged to the families of these men], and the circumstances of my own life hitherto, the fact that I come myself of a family that has had very little to do with the army, and that I have hardly ever before been brought myself into any kind of connection with it, make me feel very keenly, by contrast, the obligations and responsibilities which are involved in the position in which I now find myself in this most military of dioceses." He then passes on to point the lesson they have to learn from "the magnificent characteristics and glorious traditions" of the same army. His responsibility in this direction was ever with him. In February, 1902, in a Pastoral Letter to the clergy, he makes the welfare of the army his chief subject. Soldiers' Homes and Institutes, he urged, must be created in his diocese as they were to be seen rising in the Dioceses of Madras, Lucknow, and elsewhere.

"Let me repeat my own deep conviction that one of the things which the soldiers need most of all, and which if we can help in providing for them we are discharging a most valuable part of our ministry among them, is such pleasant, bright, healthy resorts." For the same reason he advocated the circulation of the "Army White Cross" literature. In his second Charge, in 1903, he spoke more openly upon the question of Purity, beseeching the clergy to become friends

of the soldiers and by means of the Institutes, quoting words of one of the clergy, "The men are practically unapproachable in the mass. You cannot possibly get to know them by having a word with them in the barracks. In the case of our own station I feel sure that without the Institute I should not have got to know the men at all intimately, but now thanks to the Institute there are at least a hundred who are genuinely friendly." The Bishop goes deeper. "Especially in that saddest of all sides of a soldier's life—that which finds its expression in the Venereal Wards—it is true that most substantial progress in the right direction has been made. I find that not a few chaplains are ignorant of the fact that since the abolition of the Contagious Diseases Act the number of admissions per thousand to the Venereal Wards has come down to only just over half the awful figure which it had reached in 1895." He does not claim that the good result is owed wholly to the abolition of the Act which admitted licensed prostitution. There were other factors, such as a better education at home and a finer stamp of men accustomed to self-restraint, and an immensely increased amount of work demanded of the soldier, and greater care for his welfare. In this connection the Bishop speaks with gratitude of the Society of St. Hilda, once the Lahore Diocesan Church Workers' Association, but now with an extended field of work: Soldiers' Institutes are touched by them, and Anglo-Indian (formerly called Eurasian) girls' schools have been erected and developed by them with truly blessed results.

A great many pages of the Charge of 1903 are occupied with the subject of Sunday Observance, pressing its necessity for the spiritual life.

The following group of letters illustrate the subjects emphasised in the Bishop's public utterances. The army is ever in his thoughts.

"Nowshera : March 14, 1900.

"I have got a very anxious piece of work ahead to-night in which I know your prayers will help me. I want, as you have seen in my Pastoral, to make the cause of Purity of life amongst the soldiers a leading note of my work. I find hardly anything being done in the matter here, so I told the Chaplain I should like to have a meeting expressly for this. I went to

the Colonel of the Regiment and one of the doctors, and they have both very kindly promised to speak with me. It makes, I think, the strongest possible combination for 'Tommy,' the parson, the doctor, and the commanding officer. It is good of them coming, as they have neither of them ever spoken on the subject, and they give up their dinner and come at 8 o'clock. I take it as a sign of God's blessing on my effort at its start. But I have never spoken, either, on it and it is terribly difficult."

"April 4, 1900.

"I was pleased later on in the week to hear that some young fellows who had come in for the week of gaiety and been in the cathedral on Christmas Day, hearing I was to preach again on the evening of the 31st, stayed in for that day, instead of going back to their stations as they had purposed. Their verdict was that I seemed a 'good straight kind of Johnnie.' Whether the terms will entirely satisfy your ecclesiastical instincts I do not know, but I believe the average young subaltern could hardly express regard for a cleric in much higher ones!"

ON TOUR

This letter is headed "The confines of civilisation or just beyond them—to wit—"

"Datta Khel, Tochi Valley: Feb. 15, 1900.

"Yesterday I stopped half-way up at Miran Shah. I held service for the officers before dinner. It was very touching, every single European in the place (13!) turned up, and the little room was crammed. It does seem a shame that when they are so ready to respond the Church does so little for them. A charming young fellow I was talking to this morning said he thought there was practically no atheism, or active opposition, to be found amongst the officers, but that the isolation—and in a certain sense I suppose the danger—of the life tend much in the other direction. Certainly nothing could be nicer than the way in which they have met me so far. I came across one young fellow at a solitary post on the road up, and after talking for a bit I asked whether I might have some prayer with him before I went on. He looked so blankly astonished at first that I thought he might dislike it, and assured him I did not wish to obtrude it, only was sorry to pass a man who, for all I knew, might be glad of it without giving him the offer. Then he responded in the heartiest way and seemed to like it. Then the friends one comes

across are so curious and pleasant. The Colonel commanding at the place last night had come out with me in the *Egypt* in 1897 and we had played chess together. Here the Colonel is an old Marlburian of my time—and the nice young fellow of whom I spoke a bit back is the son of a keen Marlburian whom I met, and made great friends with at one of the hill stations many years ago, when the boy was with him as a child, and had many a ride on my shoulders and romp with me.”

“Peshawar : March 21, 1900.

“After tea I consecrated a cemetery, and then into Peshawar at 6.30, jumped into dress clothes and over to the Hampshire regiment mess for an early dinner, at which six of the officers joined the chaplain and myself, and then at 8 o'clock to a crowded meeting of men, to whom I gave an address on Purity of life. I am perfectly astonished at the help I am getting from the officers in this matter. I meant to go for it in any case. But I expected opposition, and at any rate entire aloofness. But at this meeting all the six officers, who actually gave up their regular mess and had an early scratch dinner on purpose, were present, and the Colonel and doctor spoke, well and forcibly. I hope good was done. Dozens of men crowded the door and windows who could not get in. The Presbyterian and Wesleyan ministers were both with me on the platform.”

“Bishopscourne, Lahore : April 5, 1900.

“My feeling about the British Army has, I think, quite changed. Tommy, when you come across the best type of them, is certainly a wonderfully attractive specimen. Very like children. It seems almost child's play after the native work! You lift your finger and there is a response, instead of hammering away for years at a brick wall. But to make the brick wall into the 'living temple' is a still bigger thing.”

Three letters in relation to lepers.

“On Tour : January 9, 1901.

“I was at a very pathetic service the day before yesterday : a Confirmation for lepers. There is an asylum for them near here, in which there are about two hundred, in every stage of disease and of decay you can imagine. A good many have become Christians, and of these nine were presented for Confirmation, some with no hands, some with no feet, one with his throat almost gone, so that he could scarcely answer the questions, but made a kind of grunt of assent. In spite

of all, however, they seemed to have their hearts in the service, and, so far as one could judge, really to mean it. Instead of a very formal address I, so to speak, talked with them, trying to carry them along with what I was saying, and their answers and interjections showed plainly that they understood. It is an immense comfort to me to find that my simple Delhi Urdu carries me almost anywhere. Out in these villages it is not the least what the people themselves talk; that is Punjabi, a quite different speech. But Urdu has become so much of a *lingua franca* that, if one keeps to very simple words and speaks plainly, one can be understood almost anywhere. It is a great mercy of God that I have been thus prepared for this work. No other single language would have carried me half so far, *e.g.* if I had myself worked in Punjabi, that would be quite unintelligible in Delhi, etc. There is some very fine work going on in villages round here by C.M.S. missionaries and ladies. They are in the midst of one of the simplest, most manly and attractive of all the village populations."

"Amritsar: February 5, 1903.

"I had a very interesting Confirmation on Sunday at Taru Taran, the chief out-station, where there is a most capable, genial, and delightful missionary. There were thirty-four candidates, including fifteen lepers. I am glad to say it was thought safe to bring them to the church for the service, though things were arranged for them with some precautions. I am sure it must do them good to feel, if even for an hour or so, that they are not outcasts, but members of the Body. It was a most pathetic sight. The plague was bad about there, the first time I have come into close contact with it. It brought out the callousness of the people to trouble and suffering very painfully, as there was a man ill with it, a Mahommedan, in one of the huts, and no one would go near him to give him a drink or anything. It was not exactly fear, for many of them had been inoculated, and recognised themselves as practically immune, but he was a stranger, and no one cared whether he lived or died. At the last I am thankful to say a native Christian lady volunteered to nurse him, and was with him the whole night. He died next day, I grieve to say, especially for their sakes, but such example must do good."

"Bishopsbourne, Lahore: March 30, 1905.

"The most interesting thing perhaps was dedicating a church, which has been built in a leper asylum expressly for the use of the inmates. It has been designed to meet

their needs, *e.g.* no windows, but large window spaces covered with wire netting, so as to exclude birds, etc., and yet always allow a perfectly free draught of air and prevent stuffiness, etc. The missionary and his wife designed it, and I think the whole thing shows great skill and originality on their part. At the Celebration ten lepers received, and it was intensely pathetic ministering to them. In hardly any case were any fingers left, in two or three cases even the hand had almost entirely disappeared, and one had to put the bread into their mouths. The next morning I confirmed nine more. One cannot help, in ministering to these poor creatures, remembering our Blessed Lord's special connection with them."

All should know of the life work of the Rev. R. Bateman at Narowal. His "Life" has been written by Mr. R. Maconachie.

"Isanagri (*i.e.* Christ's Village) : January 7, 1902.

"I am having a wonderful and very interesting experience with Mr. Bateman. The problem with which he has had to deal is one of extreme difficulty. A very large tract of land, some 100 miles long and 50 miles broad, has been reclaimed from utter desert by one of the gigantic irrigation schemes for which the Punjab Government is famous, and the people have pressed in from the older and more congested districts, with an eagerness and an earth hunger that reminds one very much of our own Emerald Isle. Amongst the settlers are a large number, some 2000 or 3000 in all, of Christians of the lowest social rank, farm menials or serfs, for that is what their position in the older districts really amounts to, who have flocked here on the chance, if so it may be, of getting a little bit of land, or at any rate of improving their position as labourers. These have been scattered over this great district, with no clue whatever as to where they may be found. Moreover, the difficulty is much enhanced by the fact that most of them have been baptised after very little instruction indeed by some of the — missionaries in the Punjab, and that they bear the name of Christian, for better for worse, with the vaguest possible idea of what the name involves.

"Add to all this an extreme dearth at the present time of C.M.S. workers (the only Mission body of our Church in this part of the land), whether European or native, and you will see how difficult the position is. I know very few men but Mr. Bateman who could have tackled it at all, but with the hour God has, as usual, produced the man, and he has, assisted by two or three most devoted native fellow-workers, done

wonders in getting the people together and building them up somewhat in the faith. I have just held my third Confirmation (these being the first ever held in the district) since entering on this work three days ago, at each of the first of which twenty-two were presented, and to-day I think about forty. Also, on Sunday I consecrated a spacious church of the very plainest type possible, as it is right that it should be, but capable of seating on the floor—there is not a seat in the whole of it—about 800 people: it has been built very considerably by the efforts and out of the offerings of the poor people of the place. They have an excellent and most energetic native pastor resident amongst them, who has pushed through the building of the church in a way that is immensely to his credit."

The following letter gives a graphic account of the great Durbar at Delhi in Lord Curzon's Vice-Royalty.

"Durbar Camp : December 31, 1902.

"The scene here is a marvellous one, and scarcely suggestive perhaps of peace. It would baffle description so utterly that I shall attempt scarcely any. Think of a vast town, containing approximately 40,000 troops, another 10,000 Europeans, and anything up to, or beyond, 100,000 natives, servants, etc., etc., all under canvas, and on a great plain, where ordinarily there is no habitation or resident life whatever. It is all laid out with the most marvellous degree of system and order. I am told there are about fifty miles of well-made roads leading about the great camp, besides a light railway running out to it from the city. Each Province has its own area allotted to it. I hope to be able to get to-morrow a plan of our Punjab Camp to put into this just to give you an idea of how the thing is managed; but in detailed arrangement each camp differs, each Province having simply had a certain area allotted to it, and being left free to exercise its own ingenuity as to the best and most effective laying out of it. Some of the camps belonging to the native chiefs are most artistically got up and ornamented, but I have not yet seen them. Our own Punjab Camp has sixty-five guests (*i.e.* more or less leading people, who have been asked by the Lieut.-Governor to be his guests for this occasion), and they are a wonderfully kindly, pleasant lot. There is a great mess hut, with ten tables holding six or eight persons each, and it does not matter where one sits down, it is always pleasant and cheery and friendly everywhere. My

own accommodation is a tent, the inside of which is fifteen square feet. This serves as bedroom, sitting-room, and everything, except for messing. Then it has what we call the outer fly, the second covering which is always put to tents out here to give more efficient protection both against rain and heat, and the space, about six feet wide, all round between the outer and inner fly forms bathroom, etc. Of course, this is (in comparison with most of *my* tenting experiences) most sumptuous and roomy. It is a splendidly healthy life, as it means practically living in the open, so far as perfectly fresh air is concerned, all the twenty-four hours. The first few days were very cold indeed, or rather the nights and early mornings were; the last few days have been much warmer, usually a sure sign of rain coming, though as yet the sky is perfectly clear.

"The great show really began on Monday, when the Viceroy and Lady Curzon, and the Duke and Duchess of Connaught arrived, and reached their camp from the station by a marvellous procession, which went through the heart of the city, round the Jama Masjid, and then out to the camp. The Viceroy and royalties came first on elephants, and then a long line of the great beasts, with all the ruling chiefs of India, each one vying with the others in the splendour and extravagance of their 'howdahs,' caparisoning, etc., some of which were gorgeous beyond anything I had ever dreamed of. There is no use my attempting to describe it, for you will see far better accounts in any of the papers. I was in the Jama Masjid, and saw the whole thing admirably. To-morrow is the actual proclamation Durbar, to which I have to go, probably driving myself in my own dog-cart! in full scarlet vestments. It will seem rather incongruous, with the road lined with troops for miles, and the very reverse of a 'churchy' feel about the whole thing. But the scene in the amphitheatre should be very gorgeous. In the evening I dine, at an official dinner, with the Viceroy; whether the Duke will be there I don't know. I rather want to test the royal gift for remembering faces, of which we hear so much, by seeing if either of them remember me. I lunched with them, you may possibly remember, quite quietly in about 1885, when they came over to open a Zenana Hospital, and I had much chat with the Duchess. To me it would seem little short of a miracle if they could remember one face amidst the thousands they must meet in a similar way, all this time. But we hear so much of what they can do in this way that it will be interesting to see.

"The Bishops of Calcutta, Madras, and Lucknow are here, and this morning we had a long talk all together over a variety of matters. It is most delightful having our present Metropolitan. We can trust him so entirely, and he is such a perfectly delightful Christian gentleman, scholar, and saint."

I have ventured to print a letter from a very gracious and much honoured lady now gone to her rest.

"Vicarage Lodge, Simla : August 12, 1900.

"MY DEAR BISHOP,

"I feel impelled to tell you how deeply I feel the lesson of your sermon this morning, and how grateful I am to you for the strong and true help it is to me.

"All that you said was what I have wanted to hear for a long time, as even though one tries to help others and one's self, one needs the guidance of a stronger soul to tell one how to live.

"Please do not trouble to answer this, I *cannot* help telling you how real your help has been.

"Yours very sincerely,

"MARY CURZON."

Sir Mackworth Young was just resigning the post of Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

"Bishopscourne, Lahore : January 2, 1902.

"I have just been breakfasting with the Mackworth Youngs and taking my leave of them, as they will be gone before I get back from the big tour on which I start to-morrow. It will be a grievous loss for me. Ever since that summer of 1888 when I marched with them through Kulu, they have been steady and true friends, and a more perfect, courteous, high-minded Christian gentleman than Sir Mackworth no one need wish to meet. When they get settled anywhere in England, I will let you know the address, and if you ever have the chance you must go and see them. I need not say that they have promised to call if they should ever be in Ireland, but there seems little likelihood of this."

CHAPTER XII

HOLIDAYS IN THE HIMALAYAS

BEFORE I record very important public utterances by the Bishop, when he had fully grasped the moral, spiritual and political conditions of his time, I turn aside to give Lefroy a much desired holiday as it were. I have grouped together in this chapter a selection of letters extending over some eighteen years, from 1888 to 1906, and when he was still in full possession of his fine physical strength. He tells how necessary these mountaineering trips were for him if he was to preserve vitality. I have prefaced the letters by one of his Irish (or rather, in this case, Scotch) stories : others will follow in due time. We shall not understand George Lefroy unless we realise how he bubbled over with fun. Thank God he had an abiding sense of humour.

“Do you know this? —

“Scotch laird meets a minister in a hotel, suggests that they dine together and asks him to say grace. He mumbled something as they sat down. ‘A did na hear a wurrd ye said.’ ‘A was na speakin to you.’”

“Dharamsala : September 23, 1888.

“In my post-card I just mentioned that I had had high fever on Sunday and slighter through Monday night : a not very auspicious commencement of a longish journey. On Tuesday night I joined our old friend Mr. Maconachie in the train at 9 p.m. and started northwards. Our rail destination we reached at 10 p.m. the next night. This part rested me, as railway travelling after the hurry-scurry of Delhi life always does. Then, however, came the pull. We had 18 or 19 hours ahead of what is known as dhoolie dāk ; *i.e.* we were to be carried, each by 4 men, into the interior and up the hill in a curious kind of contrivance. I think there is an English

word in use to describe it, but can't recollect it. It is, however, very like what one often sees in Japanese or Chinese pictures: 4 longish kind of boxes 6 ft. long by about 3 wide and 3 high, with the roof slightly curved to throw off the rain, and a strong bamboo run through from end to end, just under the roof, and projecting about 4 ft. at each end from which the whole thing is hung, and carried by means of the projecting ends. It has a net bottom and as you can lie full length in it, it is not *per se* uncomfortable. I had, however, always had a great dislike to the thought of being carried by men, and as a still more practical element perhaps of discomfort, the motion I found (though I have heard others speak very differently of it) as uncomfortable as possible. The men get along certainly at a wonderful pace, doing nearly the 5 miles an hour I should think, when actually in the swing, though the constant reliefs and changes and little stoppages keep the actual average of distance travelled down to little over $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Six men form a gang, the two odd men continually changing with the others, and take you about 6 or 8 miles, according to the nature of the ground, and then you find another batch waiting for you. It is their summer harvest and they are delighted to get as much of it as possible. Well, the night went very badly with me, very little sleep, and gradually getting, as you may imagine, very weary. About 7 o'clock we stopped at a wayside resting house for breakfast and a bath. This freshened me up a good deal and I started again at 9.30 in better heart. We worked along up to 1 o'clock in the same fashion; then we suddenly came across ponies which had been kindly sent down to meet us by our host to be, as most people greatly prefer (and naturally, I am sure) to ride the last part of the way. Here, then, was a crux: I was thoroughly sick of the dhoolie and longed to be out of it, and yet I did not know whether I had physical strength for the ride. It was, moreover, threatening rain. I determined, however, to chance it and fortunately, after a great deal of hesitation, threw my great Inverness cape round me before starting. We were vague, too, as to distance, but fancied it was seven or eight miles. We rode along gaily enough for about half an hour and then the rain began, first quietly, then more and more steadily; then we began to come to mountain torrents, dry in summer, but now flushed with recent rains, which we had to ford. It's nasty work; the great slippery round boulders with scarcely an attempt at a track across. Two of them were up to the girths, which meant of course getting soaked up to my knees, and it was just a question

whether the ponies would take them ; and as with the ever-increasing rain they were running fuller and fuller every moment, we rode along in glorious doubt as to whether at any moment we might come across another quite unmanageable, and then what ? It was a good deal too much for my nerves. This evil, however, we escaped, but, missing our road, had a 20 miles' ride all in pouring rain and all, except some of the first four or five miles, at a walking pace. Toward the end it was just a question, Could I sit on the pony anyhow ? All things, however, come to an end at last, and we reached our house with as kind friends as any in the Punjaub. I had almost to be carried into the house, but there I got hold of the quinine bottle, and ate as much they would let me, 12 or 15 grains I suppose, then a stiff whiskey and water hot, and into bed with any amount of clothing, and a warm water bag (so delicious) at my feet which really did gradually begin to believe that they were still alive. A bowl of good hot soup, later on a hot bread and milk sop, then about a twelve hours' hard sleep, and I got up, thank God, next morning, pretty slack, as you may imagine, but in no way, so far as I knew (or know now), the worse."

"Kulu Valley : October 10, 1888.

"Somewhat of my goings on you will have learnt I hope from my letter to Fred of last mail. Enough at any rate to satisfy you that things are going not ill with me. In point of fact, I think it is about the very best holidays, as regards a combination of pleasure and health, that I have ever had in my nine years out here. It is curious, perhaps significant too, of a rule that often holds, that it is also the one that I have far the least of all sought or planned, being almost thrust on me as it were at the very last and to my utter surprise. We have had two Sundays and look forward to a third. On each we have full Service, Matins and Celebration, and I give a kind of Meditation. In the evenings we just have the Service, without any address, so it is light work for me. It is not very easy addressing three or four people whom one is travelling with on very intimate terms, and the most we have had of outsiders at any service yet is two, but I feel in such thorough sympathy with them that when once I get started, sitting down and hiding my face in my hand, I have no effort in just uttering what is within. Mr. and Mrs. Young are both musical, so we can have two or three hymns. The weather has been delicious with the exception of one day, when we had a longish march of fourteen miles through teeming rain, but it amply atoned to us during the succeeding days for the

rain fell as snow on all the mountains around, many of which at this time would otherwise have been bare, and for the next three or four days the views were of surpassing loveliness.

"I am very bad at description of scenery and the like, so I will scarcely attempt it, but our route lay first through the Kangra valley, where all the tea gardens are. We passed acres of tea-plant, a little low shrub something like myrtle, kept compact and round from constant pruning and plucking of the leaves with a pretty yellowish-white flower. We went over one of the largest establishments and saw how the tea is prepared. It is a very quick business. In twenty-four hours from the time the leaf is picked it is done up into the pound packets, or larger quantities, ready to be distributed over the world. We got some for our own use, and I think it is very good. Then from the Kangra valley we crossed a Pass 10,000 feet high into the Kulu valley. The main town is Sultanpur, which you ought to find marked. After entering the valley, we worked up it almost to its head, and it was there we had the finest view. I shall not for many a day forget the view we got the morning after the rain. We had got in, not to one of the little rest houses which have sheltered us everywhere else, but to the house of the chief English official of the valley, which used to be the palace of the Kulu Rajah before we annexed the valley. I came out in the morning on to a deep verandah and looked out. Immediately underneath lay the valley with acres and acres of rice just ripening, a very pretty crop; somewhat in its evenness and general effect like our flax, though all turning brown. Beautifully mixed in with it were fields of rich deep red, yellow, and pink Amaranth, a kind of millet; while the little villages nestling down the hillside under us were both picturesque in themselves and made much more so by the fact that all the flat roofs were covered with bright red Indian corn put out to dry, and lighting up the country most curiously in little patches of red as the morning sun fell on them. Down the valley runs the Beas, then immediately opposite rose the nearer hills answering to the one we ourselves were on, running up to a height perhaps of 10,000 or 11,000 feet, richly clothed with Deodar, a beautiful fir, a kind of cedar, I believe, with magnificent precipices of dark grey rock coming in at points with the firs just clutching for a hold on every crag. Then coming in at each opening between these hills, and filling up the other end of the valley entirely, great masses of snow running from 15,000 to 20,000 feet, such spotless purity and white, it was very glorious. We spent one Sunday in

the most beautiful spot of all we have visited, at the head of the valley ; then retracing our steps we came down the valley, passed through Sultanpur again, where we had before cut in sideways from the Kangra valley, and are working on south down the valley towards Simla. We have not very many more days together, I grieve to say. On Tuesday next we hope to reach Dularsh, the last march in Kulu, and then I break off and rush across to Simla with what haste I may, trying to get back to Delhi for the Sunday, while the Youngs turn up through Mandi and Sukt (native hill-states) and so gradually back to Jalandhar."

Three years afterwards.

" The Himalayas : September, 1891.

" We got benighted. It was about as pitch dark as it could be, and we were on a mountain side with a fair foot-path, but precipices continually alongside and no attempt at rail or anything, and no guide. I went along, there were four of us : Maitland, myself, and two servants, feeling the hillside all the way with my stick, not able to see as far as the end of it. To make sure, we were keeping on the inside of it, and away from danger. Happily it didn't last long, for we were near a village. When we got in, we found the only accommodation was a kind of loft over a public room, with no walls at all, just a wooden roof that kept out the rain very imperfectly, and open on all four sides. We were very wet, and when our baggage came up it was most of it moist. This, late at night, and at 7000 feet and a keen air, was pretty trying to a delicate man (Maitland). We had, moreover, to spend two nights there, as the next day was very wet. However, we came out of it as right as a trivet. The delight of the villagers on having some Sahibs on these very familiar terms was great, especially when we stripped to wash—not entirely, but to the waist, the delight was unbounded, and the ' beautiful white legs ' were quite appreciated."

" Peshawar : March 3, 1900.

" I wonder whether an English Bishop, or Irish, on tour has anything to do similar to one part of my duties, which take me a sadly long time when other work also presses so thick. In every station record books are kept—one for the mission, where there is such, one by the Chaplain for the English work—and here, as in some other places, books also for the Hospital, etc. And at the close of a visitation a record of what has been done, with any criticisms, or encomiums there may be to make, has to be written up. I suppose it is partly

the frequent changes in Indian life, whether in the mission workers or in the Bishops—which necessitates this. It no doubt secures a record of great interest. I have looked through the accounts of their work in this place written by Bishops Cotton and Milman, before the See was divided, then Bishops French and Matthew, as well as Bishop Johnson as Metropolitan. And the individual characters come out in a wonderful way in such reports. But the writing of them is a considerable tax, especially to one like myself who, as you know, has no gift of terseness with his pen, but is apt to let it run on in a somewhat excessive fashion."

"Simla : August 8, 1901.

"On September 9th I hope to discard gaiters and all their works and start for five weeks in the high valleys—and I hope on the glaciers, of Kashmir—with Foss Westcott, of whom, as perhaps you know, I am very fond indeed. He will be a delightful companion. How solemn, and in many ways how happy, the passing of the great Bishop was [the Bishop of Durham], rejoining so soon his son and wife. And what a magnificent tradition and life-work he has left behind him. I suppose no one during the last thirty or forty years has done nearly so much as he to deepen and awaken religious thought, especially on the part of the clergy and students generally."

"Harnaj, Kashmir, St. Michael and All Angels :

"September 29, 1901.

"The holiday is proving, I am thankful to say, a very great success. The weather was not kind at first, but latterly it has cleared up and been quite glorious. We are camped here at over 12,000 feet. At night the cold is very great, the thermometer in the tent having been down one night to 22 degrees. You imagine what this means when one has to turn out into the open air for a wash in the morning! At times, especially in the early hours of the morning, Westcott and I agree that it is an extraordinary thing that we should consider it *pleasure* to be here. But as the sun rises all this sort of feeling goes off, and it really is glorious. You know that I crave cold at times and enjoy mountain climbing, and certainly I have enough of both. We did our best climb on Friday, getting up to a peak over 15,300 feet, and oh! the panorama! a cloudless sky and a great line of snow giants, several well over 20,000 feet, immediately in front of us. The climbing itself, too, was very good, and at places decidedly exciting. I should have been sorry to do some of

it without a rope, but there were three of us, well roped together, and the leader a really expert mountaineer, and most inspiring in his leadership, so the danger was really very small indeed. It is impossible, for me at any rate, to say why, but I do believe one gets a bracing up and an increased strength of nerve and will as well as of body from experiencing what may almost be called these extremes of climate, and from a certain flavour of danger which we cannot get in other ways, and if so, you will agree with me that it is good value. But I don't expect that we shall have any more quite as stiff climbing as that, and my holiday only lasts another ten days. What some of my friends, who delight in writing to the *Guardian* almost annually to protest against clergymen abandoning clerical dress in Switzerland, would say to my episcopal costume if they met me on some of these expeditions I am unable to imagine. I can only hope that mingled dismay and indignation would keep them dumb. And meantime I know I am very safe from meeting them in these quarters.

"May God give me grace to use indeed for Him and in His service, in the way He would have me use it, the strength I am now laying in."

"On the N.W. Frontier, Samana Range: Jan. 7, 1904.

"After lunch I started off for an 11-mile walk to the Cemetery, which I found, though I had not previously realised it, was at that distance from the fort. It was a curious walk, alone, except for the first four miles which the Colonel walked with me, but escorted by four men with loaded rifles, two walking about twenty yards ahead, two more almost treading on my heels. And to complete the effect on your mind, I ought to add that these were not men of the regular army, but a local militia, popularly known by the somewhat suggestive name of 'Catch-'em-alive,' into the etymology of which I had perhaps better not enter. They look the wildest, roughest fellows imaginable. The real fact is that the element of danger is of the slightest possible, but as this is a fanatical Mahommedan part of the country, it is always possible that a man might try to knife a Sahib if he saw one alone, so Englishmen always go about escorted in this way. As I was walking down with the Colonel I said to him, 'If you or any of your officers go out into the country about for shooting, etc., do you always take an escort?' I indicated one part of the country as I spoke, and he said, 'We are not allowed to go on that side at all, with escort or

without ; it is over the Frontier and not safe.' I asked where the Frontier ran, and he said, 'I suppose it is this road we are on : ' so one could not be much nearer to it ! "

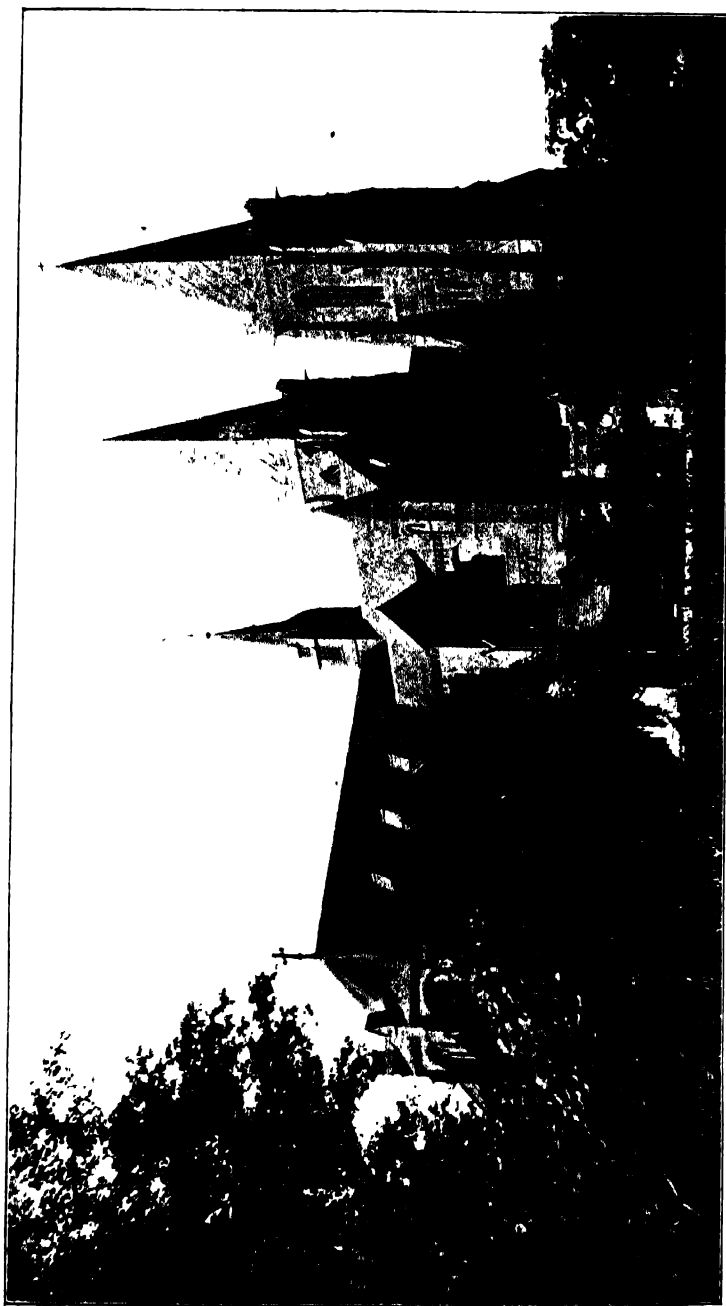
" Sultanpur, Kulu : Oct. 8, 1905.

" I am in the midst of an idolatrous festival of a more naked and blatant character than I think I have ever seen, not in any morally bad or disgusting way, for to our eyes it is sheer childishness, but just in being the most undisguised idolatry possible. We happen to have reached this village, which is the capital of the marvellously beautiful Kulu valley, just at the time of their great annual Fair, when all the village gods from the countryside around are brought in to greet one another ; and also, I believe, to answer a sort of government roll-call so as to make sure they are still there, and entitled to a continuance of the remission of taxation (on land) which has come down to our Government as a custom from those who preceded us in the land. The type of idol is to us so extraordinary. A slanting board, perhaps 5 feet by 3, sloping back, like the back of an easy-chair, at perhaps 45 degrees, is covered with red or yellow cloth, and then on it are stuck silver masks of a human (very grotesque) face, from six to a dozen or more on each board. This conglomeration of masks, so far as I can ascertain, constitutes the idol. It is borne aloft on poles on the shoulders of half a dozen men, horns are blown in front of it, fans and fly-flaps are waved just over it, to keep the faces cool and the flies off them ! an umbrella is usually carried high over them, etc., etc. The row has been deafening all day, as one after another these things have come in from outlying villages, all congregating on the village green where we are ourselves encamped. Then a few minutes ago the chief of them was put into a kind of Juggernath's car, and dragged, by long ropes and the help of many willing hands, across the ground, all the other idols being borne in procession after and around it with frantic beating of drums, playing of horns, etc., etc. As I say, the sheer childishness of the whole thing is so uppermost that it is hard to feel the moral disgust which I suppose St. Paul would have felt."

" High up in the Khagan Valley : Sunday, Oct. 7, 1906.

" We are nearing the end of our walk, and a splendidly successful one it has been. If Fred ever got my letter, and if you have seen it, you know that we were turned back, by rumoured difficulty, from one pass over a shoulder of Nanga Parbat, and had to retrace some of our steps and try another,

reported easier, but also very little-known route. It did to perfection. I don't know that I have ever had a more entirely satisfactory and stimulating walk, while I certainly never have been through so wild and little-known a country, and that always has a charm of its own. In three weeks we have done six passes, one (add 00 throughout) of 115 ft., one of 125 ft., two of 135 ft., one of 145 ft., and one of 155 ft., and most of the time we have been on very high ground in between. Sleeping in a little, not very well laced up, tent at 11,000 ft. or 12,000 ft., is—fresh, I can assure you. As regards the novelty of one part of our route, a Colonial, the Head of the A. Intelligence Department, who happened to be exploring in part of the same district and whom we met, has asked me to supply him with notes of our march, as it opens up a route, not of course actually new in itself, but new to his Department, and a better one, between two of these Frontier stations, than they at present have. Health has been improving throughout till I am now as fit as a fiddle, and for three weeks we never saw a postman—what more can I add in the way of bliss!"



LAHORE CATHEDRAL.

CHAPTER XIII

LAHORE: 1905 TO 1912

THE five years, from 1904 to 1909, reach the high-water mark of the Bishop's Lahore Episcopate, including some of his most notable utterances. The sermon upon "Fret not" will be valued. After these years Lefroy entered upon a period of physical weakness, and the rest of his life was tortured by pain in his limbs from sciatica and arthritis. Then began for him a gallant, a very gallant, and brave fight with impaired powers of locomotion, and at times with acute suffering.

In his Pastoral Letter in 1904 the Bishop announces a change of view in regard to the "Ordination of remarried converts." It reveals to those who are not conversant with the growth of the Faith in a non-Christian land how perplexing are the problems of the period of transition. In 1900 Lefroy supported the attitude of Bishop Matthew, namely, that converts who had remarried after the desertion of their non-Christian wives would not be candidates for Holy Orders. In 1904, after consultation with other Indian Bishops, he determined to relax this rule. The point at issue is, May a convert, who has been deserted by his non-Christian wife because of his conversion and has married again during the lifetime of the former wife and while she herself has not been remarried, become a candidate for Ordination? The Bishop's decision now is as follows: "It will be understood that henceforth no general bar to Ordination exists in this Diocese on the ground now indicated, though of course in the case of any individual, who might desire to become a candidate for Ordination occupying such a position, I should inquire carefully into his particular circumstances and as to how far there was any likelihood of his original wife ever actually expressing

a readiness to join him again. It is obvious that it would be in a very special degree unfortunate if such a position, with its unpleasantness and sadness, were to arise in the case of one who was in Holy Orders."

In 1905 there occurred one of the most terrible earthquakes in the history of India, in the Kangra Valley. Sir Charles Rivaz, the Lieutenant-Governor, postponed his departure from the Punjab, and threw himself heartily into the measures of relief: the Bishop, of course, aided in every way. Some 20,000 persons were killed, and among them many Europeans.

In his Pastoral Letter of 1905 he announced his concurrence in the decisions of the Episcopal Synod of 1904 regarding a delicate and vexed question, namely, the use of Consecrated Churches by other Bodies. The decision was as follows, and from experience of Lefroy's style I cannot doubt that this pronouncement was drafted by him :

"Consecration has not placed the churches under our control in such a sense that we are at liberty to deal with them as we please: but on the contrary it has bound us, by unmistakable terms and under an obligation of a very sacred kind, to restrain their use to the purpose to which they have been expressly assigned. . . . From the express terms of the trust thus laid upon us we cannot in conscience depart except under circumstances of proved necessity or urgent demands of charity: and then only to the extent which such considerations imperatively require. . . . Even the great deference which we wish to pay to the desires of the Government of India cannot be allowed to remove this matter from the sphere of our own ultimate responsibility as Bishops of Christ's Church. In dealing with the trust created by Consecration in the case of churches which have been provided by the Government of India for the use of troops, we do not fail to take into account the circumstances which make this an unique case, namely, that the churches have been built in whole or in part by Government and are maintained and served at the cost of Government, and that the exception is asked for only on behalf of His Majesty's soldiers. Dispensations which on these or other grounds we may have made, or may make, from the strict effect of Consecration in these altogether peculiar cases, we should by no means make or allow in regard to other churches, nor can they form any

precedent or justification for what, in the absence of such exceptional conditions, would be a grave irregularity. . . . Resolved, 'That the Synod understands the regulations of the Government of India, dated April 20, 1899, as relating to parade services only.' This estimate of our duty is accurately described by the Government of India in their despatch to the Secretary of State, dated December 11, 1902, in the words, 'The Bishops understand these rules as relating to parade services only, and in practice they have been so interpreted up to the present.' In June, 1903, however, the Government of India informed us that they were about to make large provision for the erection of places of worship for the Presbyterians and other denominations, and thus very greatly to diminish the number of cases in which the loan of our churches could be asked. We cordially recognise the liberality of this determination on the part of the Government. . . . We are willing therefore to permit in a small number of places which will remain unprovided for . . . the use of consecrated churches by Presbyterian and Wesleyan Ministers officiating with troops (due application having been made to us) not only for parade services but also for the solemnisation of Baptisms and Marriages and for such other occasional services as will not interfere with the full use of the churches for the worship of our own congregations: provided that on no account shall any marriage be solemnised in them which it would not be lawful in the judgment of the Bishop of the diocese for a Minister of the Church of England to solemnise. It is to be understood that such permission does not necessarily extend to the use of all the furniture, ornaments and instruments of Divine Worship.

"We regret that we cannot extend this permission to the Celebration of the Holy Communion in a consecrated church by any one who is not a duly ordained Minister of our own Communion."

The above is an abbreviated report of the decision of the Indian Bishops. They further permit for a period of five years certain specified uses "in all those churches which we allow, or may hereafter allow, to be used for parade services."

In 1905 the Prince and Princess of Wales (now their Majesties the King and Queen) visited India. Lefroy preached at Bannu at a service attended by their Royal Highnesses, and the Princess requested the Bishop to give her a copy of his sermon. Her Majesty graciously consented to lend me

the copy and has permitted me to reproduce it. It will be noted that the lesson of the sermon was learnt from his mother, as already related in an earlier chapter.

Jammu : Dec. 10, 1905.

"FRET NOT"

Ps. xxxvii. 1. "*Fret not.*"—Don't worry, don't be anxious and troubled about many things, don't let that feeling gain on you of being rushed—driven—which is so painfully common nowadays, and yet so wholly fatal to really good work, don't fret. The injunction sounds a very homely and commonplace one, scarcely worthy, perhaps, of being ranked with the larger and deeper Christian truths of which a preacher may treat, and yet I think if we dwell on it for a few minutes we shall see that it really does go very deep indeed, and that it would mean a very great deal to our lives if only we could faithfully respond to it.

1. First of all look at it merely from the physical side. Is it not undeniably true that "it's not work that kills but worry"? What else is the meaning of all the "rest-cures" of which we hear so much in these days but just this, that it isn't our bodies that get out of order so much as our nerves, and that the trouble with them comes from all the friction and care, the worry and fret of which our modern life seems so terribly full? If we could find the secret of escaping all that, would not the simple gain to health be enormous, and worth almost anything to us?

2. But the trouble goes far deeper than a merely physical one. Do you remember those words which come a little further on in the Psalm—"Fret not thyself, *else shalt thou be moved to do evil*"? And isn't that intensely true, haven't we known it again and again—perhaps very sadly—in our own experience? That bitter, cutting, unkind word for which you were so heartily sorry afterwards—of which you felt, as we often say, that you would sooner have bitten your tongue off than let it come out—how did it escape you, whatever possessed you to utter it? Wasn't it just that, that you were worried, irritable, fretted, you had lost control of yourself for the minute, and then the harm was done, and perhaps—say or do what you might afterwards—it couldn't be wholly undone again, it couldn't be as though the word never had been spoken. Or, again, that letter—so smart, so crushing, so clever, which yet you had hardly sent off to the post when you felt you would give anything to recall it, only you couldn't, it was too late then—whatever made you write it? It was just the same trouble, wasn't it? You never would have written—never would have dreamed of writing it—if you had waited a little, if you had slept on it first. But you were worried, annoyed, out of temper with yourself and therefore with every one else, and you just sat down and dashed it off. In what numberless cases has that warning been most abundantly, most sadly, justified: "Fret not thyself, *else shalt thou be moved to do evil*"!



THE BISHOP'S MOTHER.

3. But really the trouble goes far deeper down still. To understand *how* deep it goes, think for a moment of all the stress that is laid in the Bible on "Peace"—that habit of mind, that temper, which is the exact opposite of the worry and fuss and fret of which I have been speaking. Going straight to the heart of things, we know how central this emphasis on Peace is in the life and teaching of our Blessed Lord Himself. We hear it from the very first message which proclaimed His birth—the birth of the Prince of Peace—"Glory to God in the highest, on earth Peace." It comes in His last charge to His disciples before his death—"Peace I leave with you; My Peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you." It is the very first greeting which He gives to His disciples after his Resurrection. "Jesus came and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. . . . Jesus therefore said again to them, Peace be unto you." It plainly is amongst the very choicest gifts which even He, Conqueror over sin, death, and the grave, can give to them.

And exactly the same note runs throughout the entire Bible. Think of those words in the lesson for yesterday: "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever. And My people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting-places." Or that wonderful passage which came only a few days ago in that same book, "Thou wilt keep him in perfect Peace whose mind is stayed on Thee: because he trusteth in Thee." Or words like those of St. Paul, "The very God of Peace sanctify you wholly;" or, "The Peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus." I think there are hardly any words of the New Testament which "find us out" more deeply, come more closely home to us, than these and other verses to the same effect, and I am quite sure that to many here, as well as to myself, they must often have come with a sense of soothing and calm such as scarcely anything else seems to bring, and which is the very best possible preparation for really strong, effective, quiet work.

Surely, then, it must, on all these grounds, be worth making a very great effort indeed to respond to this injunction of the Psalmist—put away worry and fret out of our lives, and live, more and more continually, in the shelter and strength of that "Peace which passeth all understanding."

4. How, then, can we hope to attain to this? Some answers to this question will occur to us at once. Some, of course, will say, "It's all a matter of temperament. Some are born that way, and can take life easily. But that's not possible for me. I am a regular Martha. I always have taken things rather hard, and I know I always shall." And perhaps amid the implied self-commiseration one detects an undernote of satisfaction that this is so, as meaning that, from another point of view, the speaker feels herself to be a really capable and energetic person, who, with whatever drawbacks,

is worth very much more than the drone whose rôle it is to "take life easily."

Or one may say, "It's a question of physical health—it's all very well, and very easy, to keep quiet and avoid worry and fret when one is in robust health and strength; but it's when one is run down and out of sorts that even little things get on the nerves, and the 'grasshopper becomes a burden.'"

Or once again, "It's really for the most part a question of means. The man who has a good balance at the bank and is in a prosperous, flourishing condition, can very well afford to preach the duty of peace and quiet of mind, but when you haven't got that balance and can't for the life of you think how both ends are going to meet at the end of the month, it's a very different matter." Answers of this kind may, of course, be multiplied endlessly—e.g. "It's all very well for you not to bother; you have your children with you out here, and can look after them yourself and know they are all right; but I had to leave mine at home, and with strangers, too, and I have just heard that one of them is ill—what's the use of telling me not to be anxious or worried?"

Now, with regard to all answers of this sort, it is far best to be quite frank and to recognise that there really is a good deal of truth in them—I mean that it is undoubtedly very much easier for people of one sort of temperament, or under one set of conditions, to fight against the evil of which I am at present speaking, than for others. A naturally happy temperament, a sound digestion, a comfortable balance at the bank, the presence with you of those who are very near and dear—all these things and others like them are undoubtedly a great help, and it would be foolish and unreal to ignore this. Yet, if one thinks a little more of it, one cannot but feel that, after all, these are not the things that go deepest; these were certainly not the things which were in the minds of those who, either in the Old or New Testament, have laid such stress on the importance of being at peace within. Think of our Blessed Lord's circumstances, standing as He did already within the shadow of Gethsemane and Calvary, when He said, "Peace I leave with you; My Peace I give unto you." Think of St. Paul when, from the depths of a Roman prison, he wrote of the "Peace of God which passeth all understanding." Think of the prophets and psalmists who, amid all the wild turbulence and lawlessness and disorder of those early days, could write so quietly and convincingly of that "perfect Peace" which comes from trusting in God, and of the immense importance of resisting the spirit of worry and fret.

No, it was certainly not a comfortable balance at the bank, or anything whatever connected with the outward circumstances of their life, which inspired the words in all these cases.

5. Where, then, should we look for the secret? We shall find it in the words of our Lord recorded in St. Matt. vi., where again and again He urges on His disciples not "to be anxious" about

outward things—food, raiment, and the like. In passing, let me remind you of how very great is the gain in this passage of our Revised Version. You remember that in the Old Version it ran, “take no thought for,” etc. But that wholly misses the point. Thought for the future we take, and must take, if we are not to put ourselves on a level with the beasts. But not to be anxious—in a bad, worried, harassed way—not to be troubled and overborne with care, in these matters, that is a totally different thing from “taking no thought,” and it is this that in this passage our Blessed Lord is urging with so much insistence on His disciples. Five times within the space of a few verses the word recurs, showing that this was a note, a characteristic, which in very special degree He desired to see reproduced in those who were to be called by His Name. And note the reason which He gives for this freedom from worry and care. Is it because these things—“life,” “raiment,” “food,” “stature”—don’t matter? Not in the very least. You may hear that kind of position taken sometimes in the pulpit, but then you do know in your hearts that it is unreal, untrue, and you feel perfectly certain—as well you may—that as soon as ever the preacher has come out of the pulpit he will show very plainly by his actions that he is very far indeed in his own heart from thinking these things of no importance. No, you never get false spirituality of that kind in the Gospels. What then? There they are, all these needs—and very urgent they often are, too—and our Lord recognises and admits this, and indeed makes this the very basis of his injunction of rest and Peace. “You do need these things,” He says; “and, what’s more, your heavenly Father *knows that you need them.*” There we touch the real secret; in that conviction, that we have indeed a Father in heaven, and that He Who Himself has made us in the way in which we are made, with all these needs and points of difficulty, Himself is responsible for, providing for them—in that conviction is the secret of such deep and true Peace of the heart as we can know in no other way.

We know quite well that, as a simple matter of fact, this is the secret of the child-life, and of its freedom from worry and care. Why is it that the little life grows up and unfolds itself so free, so bright, so happy? Is it not simply because it is folded in the shelter of the parents’ life, the parents’ love, the parents’ care? “Oh, that’ll be all right. Mother will see to that; father always manages about that”—are any notes of the true child-life more invariable, more familiar, than the one which finds expression in some such words as these? Or are any dearer to the father’s, the mother’s heart? That happy childlike confidence, that perfect unwavering trust, that impossibility even to dream of things not coming all right when father and mother are there to see to them—are they not intensely precious, constituting, one may almost say, the very essence of the relationship!

They may, of course, be—sometimes, no doubt, they are—carried a little too far. One may sometimes have to say to the

little one, "I wish you would think a little for yourself sometimes, and not always be so very ready to leave everything to father to look after." But even so, how very slight the trouble is, and how entirely a different matter it would be if the difficulty were of just the opposite kind—if we were to see our children prematurely old, as we say, worrying about their food and their education and their start in life—ignoring, that is, the fact of their parents' love and care altogether! We know quite well that *this* would wound us in quite another, in an infinitely deeper and more painful, way.

But if this is what we feel about our own children and what, above all else, we expect of them, what must it mean to Him, our Father in heaven, the very type and pattern of all Fatherhood, from whom every family ("all Fatherhood," as it is in the Greek) in heaven and earth is named—what must it mean to Him to see us continually anxious and troubled about many things, overborne with care, fretting and fussing exactly as though we were orphans and had no one at our back to help us in all these things, or look after them for us? What must it mean to Him to see us going through the world, knowing nothing of the great principle of deep, true peace, and of all the best work which men can do, the principle of "casting all your care on Him, for He careth for you"? No one can ever describe, or know except by experience, the peace, the quiet strength, the power for the most solid, telling, steady work, which come into the lives of those who have really anchored themselves on that rock. It was—we may say it with all reverence—the very central note of our Blessed Lord's own life, and it was that to which above all else He sought to bring all who would walk in His footsteps, as He points them, in the very opening words of the Prayer of all the ages, to "Our Father which art in heaven," who will assuredly give us from day to day our daily bread.

And I need not remind you that, while I have dealt with the question from the point of view of the supply of our physical, our elementary, needs, the principle goes infinitely deeper, reaches infinitely wider, than this, and covers every possible problem or difficulty, or cause of worry and anxiety, be it from what quarter it may, which can possibly invade our life. From each and every one of them we find our deliverance, our certain and unfailing harbour of refuge, in exactly the same way—by a deep and true belief in the loving care and guidance and support of our Father in heaven, by "casting *all* our care upon Him," knowing with an absolute certainty that "He careth for us."

6. I want you, therefore, to recognise this morning that to fail in this matter, to give way to the spirit of care and worry and fret—as I am afraid we are so terribly apt to do—is not only to lose an immense strength, a primary source of happiness and health out of our lives—is not only to run the greatest possible risk of "being moved to do evil"—but is nothing else than a downright dishonouring of God and a denial in act of His Fatherhood and care and love

for us. I ask you not to be content for an instant to put it down to the fault, the misfortune, of your temperament, or any of those other superficial, external causes to which I have referred, but to see it as what in deed and truth it is—a denial of God's Fatherhood and of your own childhood alike. If only we can see it thus, surely we shall long to pray and pray again—

“Lord, make these faithless hearts of ours
Such lessons learn from birds and flowers ;
Make them from self to cease ;
Leave all things to a FATHER'S Will,
And taste, before Him lying still,
E'en in affliction, *Peace!*”

That Peace, the Peace of Christ Himself, which the world can neither give nor take away—the Peace of God which passeth all understanding—may He give us increasingly, deepening our love towards Him, our trust and dependence on Him, making continually more vivid and more real our sense of the shelter of His Presence, in which we are hid so supremely safely from every storm that can rage, and our absolute conviction that in His Hands no evil can possibly touch us, for that “all things work together for good to them that love God.”

CHAPTER XIV

PROBLEMS OF EUROPEAN LIFE

THE evangelist missionary, being a Bishop, was now called to face the problems specially affecting the European communities in his diocese. It required, of course, a combination of forthrightness and courage, together with genuine sympathy and tact, and more especially with comprehension of the difficulties which beset our race in India.

I have chosen two or three subjects in order to illustrate Lefroy's courage and also his statesmanlike balance of mind, and I append somewhat lengthy extracts, first, from two sermons preached in Christchurch, Simla, in August, 1905, on Gambling, addressed to that remarkable congregation to which I have already called attention. And secondly, from his Charge delivered in 1906 dealing with the one outstanding problem of India, the attitude of the Englishman towards the Indian. Neither of the two subjects are merely Diocesan but of general interest and permanent importance. Let the Bishop speak for himself. And it is instructive to remember that Lefroy was most cautious to obtain the exact facts before he made a public utterance. An officer informs me that two years before the sermons on Gambling were preached, Lefroy was privately inquiring of those whom he could trust the exact details connected with the gambling habit. He remarked to the officer in question that he dreaded being made a laughing-stock in consequence of some ignorant statement of a stupid parson, not because it was humiliating, but because it spoilt his case.

A SERMON ON GAMBLING (extracts only)

It will be observed that in basing my charge against the habit of gambling, I am dealing with what I conceive to be a tendency always

and necessarily underlying the act itself, and not merely with some of those coarser abuses connected with the turf, and other special centres of gambling, which are so notorious and undeniable that it would be needless for me in this place to single them out for attack. And I feel that in some ways the conditions of our Anglo-Indian life make it especially necessary that I should be able thus to deal with an essential tendency of the habit, rather than with the coarser forms of its abuse, for undoubtedly the latter are not at all as prominent out here as they are, by all admission, in very many cases in England. Our English society out here forms a very limited and somewhat select circle in which the coarser forms of welshing, etc., are naturally impossible; as are also those large prison corridors (which come before us in parts of the evidence given before the Committee of the House of Lords, to which I have already referred, as well as from other sources), filled with clerks who have been convicted of theft, and who, it is stated, in almost every single instance, trace their fall to gambling losses in some form or other.

In saying this, however, I must not be supposed in the very least to imply that even out here actual crime, or the wreck of careers is by any means unknown in connection with this habit. Many of you will remember that quite recently an order was passed by the Corporation of Calcutta forbidding, under pain of dismissal, any of their employes to indulge in the habit of betting in amounts "which could possess for him more than a trifling interest." One may be perfectly certain that a body like the Calcutta Corporation does not deal with an exceedingly thorny and difficult subject such as that of gambling, without having been compelled thereto by very specific instances of the injury to their work which results from it, while for me it is of special interest to note that one of the forms which such injury takes, as indicated in the resolution, is exactly that of the unsettlement and loss of interest in honest work, on which I have myself been laying primary stress; "when heavy winnings are the result, his salary and the desire to earn it by honest labour tend to become matters of comparative unimportance, and a proper interest in his work disappears." The dangers attendant on heavy losses are still more obvious and do not need to be pointed out. Further, I can feel no doubt in my own mind that there is scarcely a military man amongst you whom I am now addressing, who has not, in his own experience, known of instances where non-commissioned officers (would that I could say non-commissioned officers alone!) have got into most serious trouble, and been dismissed from the service, for defalcations in connection with canteen funds or other regimental accounts, the origin of which can be traced with absolute certainty to betting or gambling losses. I, at any rate, should have no difficulty in laying my finger quite specifically on not a few cases which have occurred during my years in India.

But still it is not on such quite overt cases of criminality and disaster that I wish to lay primary stress this morning, but rather on

that spirit of restlessness and unhealthy excitement which I believe is a necessary characteristic of the entire practice. Thus, to take the case of the Derby Sweep, which is so well known an institution out here, the amount involved in which has increased so enormously during the last twenty-five years, and into which now not Englishmen only but Indians of every possible class and condition of life, and I fear in ever-increasing numbers, put their ten rupees. Can it be denied for an instant that there are men in all ranks of life, who are looking year by year to a successful draw, perhaps of two lacs if by rare luck they should win the first prize, or of some smaller amount, as the path to that success in life for which they long; e.g., that possibility of resigning the service in which they may be employed, going home and settling down comfortably there, or the like? And if this is so, and I do not myself believe that any honest man in the least acquainted with the real facts of the case will for an instant deny it, can this be said from any conceivable standpoint to be a healthy influence at work on the characters of the men who thus take part in that great lottery?

I will take, before stopping, one other instance which has been brought much more closely to my own notice than that of the Derby Sweep, of the very existence of which, of course, many of us may remain almost wholly unaware after years in the country. I refer to the sweep on the daily run, and probably the sale of the numbers on the last few days of the voyage, which is, I believe, an invariable accompaniment of a journey on the P. and O., and for all I know on all other lines as well. I imagine that the institution is due really to two causes. In the first place, there is that craving for a little excitement which is so intensely natural in view of the dull monotony which characterises for most of us life on shipboard. With that desire for a little excitement, I need scarcely say that I entirely sympathise, or rather share it in full measure myself. None the less, I do hold that, before we are justified in seeking to secure it in any special direction, we are bound, if we look at life in a moral way and with any sense whatever of responsibility attaching to it, to see whether there is anything essentially unwholesome or undesirable in that pursuit. And if the charge which I am thus bringing against the whole spirit and temper of gambling has anything in it, then I do not think that participation in those steamer sweeps is a wholesome or desirable form in which to relieve our ennui. I should like to add (for I think it may affect the practice of not a few of those who have really in themselves rather disliked these sweeps, but have not felt any clear basis of objection to them on which to ground refusal to participate) that they are in themselves undoubtedly illegal, although in the conditions of ship life it would be exceedingly difficult to get any one to take on himself the odium of demonstrating such illegality. But I was so much annoyed myself, on a recent journey to England, by the persistence with which passengers were urged to join in the sweep, that I wrote to a man who has at his

fingers' ends all the legislation connected with gambling, being indeed secretary to what is known as the National Anti-Gambling League, to inquire of him on the subject. His reply ran :—

"All sweepstakes are lotteries: all lotteries are absolutely illegal by British law. The different parties can all be punished under the somewhat complicated series of Lottery Acts. In each case the lawyers have to determine upon the best method of procedure. We have had our funds too much occupied to go at those steamer sweepstakes. The penalties differ, but can be made heavy if the tribunals are disposed."

As I have said, under the conditions of life on board ship, it would undoubtedly be very difficult to get any one to take the matter up and try to get these sweeps stopped. On the other hand, I feel sure that there are not a few people amongst us who, if once they recognised that gambling in this form is illegal, would entirely decline to participate in it merely because, being on board ship, they could not easily be got at, or proceeded against, for doing so. We claim to be naturally a law-abiding people, and if that claim is not made in vain, as I am sure it is not, this would seem to be a point at which our law-abiding instinct might well come into play, and make us abstain from participation in an amusement which is in itself unquestionably illegal.

In a somewhat similar way, it would seem to me a very strange thing indeed if among the officers of the British Army there were not a good many with whom it goes a good deal against the grain to punish N.C.O.'s or men who are brought before them for playing cards for stakes, or gambling in some other form, while all the time they know perfectly well that they are doing exactly the same thing themselves, perhaps every night of their lives. I entirely decline to believe that this can be a congenial position for Englishmen to find themselves in. To refuse to punish in such cases is not indeed within their power, the King's Regulations being perfectly clear. Another remedy, however, is open to them, the adoption of which would seem to put them, in some ways, in a stronger position.

But to come back to the sweeps on board ship. I feel perfectly certain that there is another cause always at work in such cases, quite apart from the excitement which many crave, and that is the deliberate desire, on the part at any rate of some of the men who take a prominent part in getting up such sweeps, to annex for their own purposes the money of other passengers. I know, of course, how indignantly the individuals concerned would repudiate such a suggestion, and maintain that they are actuated purely by sporting motives, and retaliate on any one who declines to join in their gamble the charge of being spoilers of sport. I likewise, however, indignantly repudiate this latter charge, and most steadily maintain that they are not the true spoilers of sport who object to betting in connection with it, but rather they who are little by little degrading every possible form of English sport by the money interest which

they insist on associating with it, and which inevitably, sooner or later, contaminates all which it touches. Thus we all deplore at the present time the immense increase in professionalism in football, while it would be hazardous to say that even the cricket field will much longer be secure from the same disease. But professionalism, as we all know in our hearts, simply spells money interest, and only by getting rid of this once again can we restore our English play-fields to the thoroughly healthy and valuable position which they previously occupied.

No, it is just as well to be perfectly straight and honest in such matters, and I repeat with the most absolute conviction, that always in such cases there are some men who are trusting to what they may win on the voyage either to pay the expense of their ticket, or to have a much better time at home than what they would otherwise have enjoyed. It is not, I hope, that I fail to sympathise with a man whose means may be smaller than my own; and if such a one would come frankly and say that he was hard up and would be grateful for a contribution of Rs.10 or 15 towards the expenses of his trip home, which he greatly wanted to take, I imagine that I, and not a few others, would probably be often willing to assist in such a case. But what I do emphatically and most strongly object to is that, under the colour of sport, my money should be annexed from what is, at the bottom, a purely mercenary motive; and I cannot help fearing that, not in this connection only, but in the matter of playing cards for comparatively high stakes as well, the number of those—women, I fear, at least as much as men—who play definitely for the sake of winning money, and who look to the card table as a very real source of income, is steadily increasing. This, however, belongs to the part of the subject with which I propose to deal next Sunday, and I do not want to go into it now. My desire this morning has simply been to call attention to this whole question, to indicate the undoubtedly great spread, as I believe, of the gambling habit; to try to make clear some of those very real evils connected with it, which I know many people find it difficult to see clearly; and to ask whether amongst you who are present this morning there are not some at any rate who, even in the absence of such a wholly satisfactory and convincing definition of the gambling habit as would finally demonstrate the evils connected with it (and no one knows better than I do myself how extremely difficult it is to frame such a definition), will yet be prepared to take a firmer stand with regard to this matter in the future than perhaps they have done in the past, and will decline entirely to have any dealings with a practice, the evils of which, I am perfectly convinced, are manifold and great, and in connection with which I, for one, am wholly unable to see any single redeeming feature of positive usefulness and good. . . .

SERMON II. (on Gambling)

Before passing away from this aspect of the subject which occupied last Sunday, I want to say a few more words as to the place and significance in our life of that element of chance, or luck, which is so inevitable, and which constitutes for very many people, I think, a real difficulty in connection with this question.

Again and again it has been said to me, "What can be the harm of it? Of course it is a matter of luck; but chance comes into everything. You cannot possibly eliminate it from human life, so what is the good of making it out to be such a tremendous evil in this particular connection?" That sounds plausible, and I believe the difficulty of perceiving the answer to that position has been a contributing cause in the case of not a few persons who have been drawn into the gambling habit in some form or other. But does not the answer to it really lie somewhere along these lines? Undoubtedly—speaking for the moment purely from the human standpoint, and leaving out of sight all thought of God's overruling providence in the background—undoubtedly the element of uncertainty, chance, luck—call it what you will—in our human life is very large indeed. God has put us into this world of His with a most limited knowledge of, and still less control over, future events, with the necessary result that uncertainty and chance enter very largely into every single department of human life, and involve at any rate the risk of the upset of even the best-laid human plans. At the same time it should be noticed that, so far from this condition of things being merely injurious, it acts in many ways as exactly the reverse; for one great function of the reasoning faculty with which we have been endowed would appear to be just this—to recognise the inevitable presence of this feature of uncertainty in all the conditions with which we have to deal, and to set itself, by careful and wise foresight, to reduce it to a minimum, or if possible to eliminate it altogether from the sphere of our operations. In other words, the very presence of that element of uncertainty and consequent risk has acted as a challenge to our reasoning powers and stimulated them to do their very best to overcome it, and it would be impossible to say how great has been the enrichment of human life in every conceivable quarter from the stimulus thus imparted. The agriculturist knows full well how exceedingly uncertain are the conditions of weather upon which almost all the successes of his arduous labour depends, he therefore sets himself with infinite industry and pains to guard, to the utmost of his power, by every possible resource, against these risks, and his excellence as an agriculturist may be said to depend upon the success he attains in such efforts. The same is true in every branch of life. The cricket captain recognises the uncertainty which necessarily besets the match, he makes his dispositions to overcome them, and his fitness for his post is indicated by the measure of success which he secures. So, too,

in trade, speaking now of trade in its solid, steady, honest aspect, not of it on the side of that wild and unprincipled gambling, which I fear enters in no small degree into too many branches of trade at the present time, to its immeasurable injury and its certain eventual decay. All trade, of course, has its risks, it may be very great risks indeed, but the sober, careful merchant sets himself to overcome these, often with a large measure of success.

From these instances it will be seen what I conceive to be the normal and legitimate relation which exists between our reasoning faculties and this feature of uncertainty and chance in all the conditions of human life. Its very presence acts as a challenge to the reason to eliminate it, or to reduce to the utmost extent the sphere of its action and influence.

But it is obvious that the moment we turn to gambling, in any form whatever, the exact opposite of this normal relation comes into play, for the very idea of gambling is to enlarge the area of chance, and deliberately and of set purpose, to make it predominate in the affairs which are submitted to its control. Thus, what is the roulette table but an invention designed expressly and exclusively for the very purpose of making chance supreme in regard to the disposal of the stakes which are involved? Is it not then obvious that, while in all the other operations of human life, to which I have thus referred, we set ourselves to *eliminate* the element of risk, and to attain to the highest degree of certainty possible, in gambling this is exactly reversed; for does not the whole essence of the thing depend on the *presence* of that element of uncertainty, and does not gambling become impossible exactly in proportion as this element is eliminated? It is recognised on all sides that there cannot be (or at any rate ought not to be—would that there never were!) any betting on a certainty.

It appears, therefore, that the analogy which it was sought to establish between the various forms of betting or gambling, and that element of uncertainty and risk which forms so inevitable a part of human life, fails entirely, or rather is exactly reversed, in the latter instance, reason being kept on its true plane and attaining some of its highest triumphs, while in the former it is, as I hold, deliberately dethroned and dishonoured.

I now pass on to the subject which, as I have told you, will occupy us to day, namely, that of the practice of card-playing, or shall I say more especially of Bridge, when played for high stakes; though, indeed, what I want to say on this point also really applies to the entire practice and spirit of gambling in whatever form it may appear. But first of all let me substitute for the expression which I have just used—Bridge-playing for high stakes—this, Bridge played for any stakes in which money interest has a substantial place in the mind of the players. We shall all recognise that these expressions are by no means synonymous, for in the case of some, more especially, perhaps, women, a very high degree of interest in the

game may be excited on what is really a monetary basis, even though the amount of stakes actually involved may seem to others almost absurdly small.

I know full well how immensely difficult, or rather how impossible, it is to estimate the degree to which cards are played deliberately for the sake of the money involved. A friend of mine asked a young captain of his acquaintance, how many men in his regiment, he supposed, played chiefly for the sake of the money; and his reply was that he thought about two-thirds of them. Presumably the same would hold true in many other cases. On the other hand, of course, I know there are many men—many doubtless amongst those whom I am at this moment addressing—who for years have had their nightly game of Whist or Bridge for quite fixed stakes which never vary or increase, and which are of infinitesimal value, regard being had to the position and incomes of the players. Such men would, I am sure, entirely deny that they were playing for the sake of the money which they might win, though at the same time if I were to propose that they should substitute counters for annas, it is probable that they would in a large majority of cases decline. They would reply that while they were not playing for the money, still just to have a little something on, adds an interest to the game which would otherwise be lacking, helps to secure carefulness in play and accuracy in marking, etc. I have thought very carefully over the point, and confess that I am wholly unable to perceive how this can be distinguished from a genuine monetary interest, however small in degree. It is always well to be clear on such points, and to understand one's own position, so I would suggest to any one who holds that he is not playing from any interest in the money involved, that he should ask himself whether he would be quite willing to substitute counters for money; and if not, to get it clear in his own mind, why not.

Or, to take another test, would not the interest of the game in many cases be materially reduced, if it were known that at the close of the evening a box, on behalf of some charitable institution, would be passed round, into which all winnings would be put? (To guard against any possible misunderstanding, let me say at once that I am not suggesting that this should be done, at any rate on behalf of any charitable institutions with which I am myself connected, for nothing is further from my desire than that they should be supported from a source which I regard as so essentially tainted.) In this case I feel no doubt that a certain number would willingly accept the proposal; they would say, "We have had our fun out of the game, we do not in the least want to keep the money we have won, and we are perfectly willing that it should go into the box." All credit to them! In such cases one may safely say that the essential money interest, of which I am now speaking, is really absent. But on the other hand, I doubt very much indeed whether any considerable proportion at all of Bridge players would welcome the proposal, and

I venture to think that if it were enforced, the amount of Bridge-playing, let me say in Simla itself, would be so materially reduced as to call for no notice, at any rate from this pulpit. Further let me add, with regard to those regular and small money stakes, even in cases where the test which I have just suggested would not be accepted, that while I may not myself think the practice entirely satisfactory or wholesome, and certainly would not think of playing for a money stake at all myself (as indeed I feel quite sure that the great majority of you would be sorry to see me doing), yet I entertain no very strong feeling on the subject, and most certainly should not be dealing with the question from the pulpit to-day, if Bridge-playing were always restricted to this.

But we know perfectly well, if we choose to be honest, that this is not the case, but that, however many there may be who play in a very harmless way indeed, yet there are not a few who do play for the sake of the money involved. Some of these may be almost unconscious of the fact themselves, though every one else who has anything to do with them, or who watches them at play, sees it with unmistakable clearness; while some do not attempt to deny or disguise the fact that they play quite deliberately in order to win, women perhaps in order to be able to dress better, men to pay off old debts, or to have a better time in some form or other.

It is of play of this kind that I now wish to speak, and the charge I bring against it is that of being essentially *anti-social*. The word may sound a little curious to you in this connection, but I hope I shall be able to make my meaning clear.

I hold, then, that all play of this character is necessarily anti-social in the following three respects:—

(a) It is anti-social because my gain must be, nakedly and purely, your loss, and conversely your gain is my loss. It is not in the least like trade, in which we pay a certain price and receive in return a commodity, buyer and seller alike profiting by the exchange. Exactly the same applies, of course, to money spent on any form of amusement, whether a seat for a concert or a play, the keep of a hunter, or any other of the thousand and one ways in which money may be spent, and quite legitimately spent, under this head. In each case there is, or is supposed to be, some quite definite and tangible return which is looked for as the value of the money spent. But in the case of money lost at cards, or in any other form of gambling, there is plainly nothing whatever of this kind of mutual benefit, and probably this is one reason why it has been found necessary to enlist in support of payment of money thus lost, the grossly absurd and fictitious idea that it is peculiarly "a debt of honour." What other conceivable claim can be advanced for the exceptional treatment which it is thus sought to accord to money dealings of this singularly unsatisfactory character, I cannot imagine. But putting that on one side, I hold very strongly that there ought to be, *and need be*, no social dealings whatever between us on that basis of my gain being

purely and simply your loss ; I hold that it is opposed to that fundamental truth of our religion, which comes out in the verses which I have chosen for my text, and in so many other passages of St. Paul's writings ; in that one, for instance, where he says "There should be no schism in the body ; but the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it ; or one member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it ;" while also I hold that it is no less opposed to all that is healthiest and best in the relations of our national, social, and family life.

(b) Secondly, I urge that Bridge so played is anti-social in what may perhaps be called a smaller way, because in the absorption which it produces, manners are in some cases lost sight of, other engagements are in danger of being put aside or neglected ; guests, who are not willing to take their place at the table for the recognised stakes, may not perhaps be as welcome as they would otherwise be ; in short, the pursuit becomes, in an unhealthy degree, engrossing. I know, of course, that the same might be said of any pursuit or amusement carried to excess. But if frequent recent illustrations in *Punch* are to go for anything at all (and I can scarcely doubt that they gain their point from *some* facts which are recognised to underlie them) it is at the present time more especially in connection with this game that such results are conspicuous, and I do not think that we can regard this as being to its credit, or doubt for an instant that it is *the fact of money being involved which makes it so undesirably engrossing*.

(c) It is anti-social, not merely in view of the actual stakes which change hands at the conclusion of the game, but from the purely self-regarding and selfish standpoint which dominates the players throughout. Thus, to take one point, it will of course be admitted by every one that a man ought not to play for more than he can afford, and that before entering on a course of play it is his duty to ask himself whether he can afford to lose the amount, if luck should go against him. But you cannot play Bridge alone, and I wonder how often does a man ask himself, not only "Can I afford to lose the amount ?" but "Can the other men with whom I am going to play, who perhaps are being encouraged by my example and influence to join in the game, can they also afford the amount ?" Here, again, I know quite well that there are many players, especially older men, who certainly would do this, and would take care that they were not leading a younger man to play for stakes larger than he could quite well afford. But I cannot doubt either, that in a very large number of cases, the reply would be, "I really cannot go into that point : each man must judge for himself. I am responsible for my own pocket and for my own conscience, but not for any one else's ; or to put it quite plainly, 'Am I my brother's keeper ?'"—a sentiment which, I may remind you, fell in the first instance from the lips of a not very respectable character, Cain, just after he had killed

his brother. But this whole attitude of mind is one, which I hold that we are bound most absolutely to condemn. As a simple fact, whether we like it or not, we *are* and *must be* in many respects our brother's keeper, in the sense, I mean, of being responsible for the influence which we exercise over one another's lives. It is supremely true, and do what we will we cannot alter the fact, that "no man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself," but that we are, in a very wonderful and mysterious way, bound together in one bundle of life one with another, so that we are in deed and in truth members of one body.

Further, while this power belongs in its measure to every single one amongst us, it of course is increased immeasurably by those positions of authority or relationship, in which we may be placed towards other lives, and obviously in such cases the guilt by the misuse of so solemn a trust which has been committed to us, is proportionately great.

Thus what are we to say of the senior officer, himself a keen Bridge player, who perhaps by word of mouth or simply by the influence of his example, induces some junior, who would personally in his heart much prefer not to play for money at all, to join in the game, and then wins his money? I fear that if I were to characterise that action exactly as it really appears to me, my language might not be thought entirely suitable to the place which I at present occupy; I will therefore only say that it appears to me to be a shameful prostitution of the great influence which such a one necessarily wields by virtue of the relation in which he stands to the younger man. I fear that this is a subject on which our English public conscience is as yet in some quarters inadequately awake, but I hope and believe that before very long a change will come in men's thoughts about it, similar to that which the last fifty years have seen amongst us in regard to drunkenness; and the gain of such an awakening will be great.

And there is one class about which I feel, if possible, still more strongly even than about that of the officers in high position of whom I have now spoken; I mean the women who use their God-given power of attractiveness, and that charm of influence which woman can so strongly exercise over man, to draw round them guests, in order to play for stakes with the deliberate intention and hope of winning their money. About such a case as this again I feel it very hard indeed to speak. I have a simply boundless admiration for those true, gracious, sweet women who move about amongst us, purifying the very air they breathe, making life a brighter and happier thing for all with whom they come in contact, and strengthening us all to meet more bravely and with truer manhood, the difficulties which so frequently beset our life. I thank God that I have known not a few such up here amongst ourselves in Simla; I thank God that as I look down into the faces of you who are sitting before me at this moment, I know that there are not a few such amongst us still. But in

proportion to the strength of my admiration for true women of this sort, is the strength of my feeling, of a very different kind indeed, about those who so basely degrade the power which they wield, either in the way I have suggested or in other similar ways, and betray the sacred trust which has been committed to them by God to strengthen and purify the lives of men. . . .

CHAPTER XV

1905 TO 1912 (*continued*)

ATTITUDE OF THE BRITISH RACE IN INDIA TOWARDS EDUCATED INDIANS

THERE is no need to emphasise to-day the paramount importance of this question, and it will be of interest to note what, in November, 1906, the Bishop of Lahore set down in his third Triennial Charge to his diocese. I give merely a series of extracts, but as such I have made no alteration in the language used.

"I come to the subject to which, after much and careful thought, I have decided to devote the remainder of my Charge, namely, some slight consideration of the novel conditions which, by any at all intelligent and sympathetic observer, are seen to be emerging in this great land of India, some appreciation of the new problems concerning the mutual relations of the English and of the educated classes of this land, and the place which the latter are entitled to take in the government of the country—in short, the consideration of all that position of affairs which, under the broad title of the 'Change of Times,' has recently bulked so large in the columns of our local newspapers. The fact that from one—and that perhaps the most obvious—point of view this problem is primarily a political one does not, I feel quite sure, make it in any way unsuitable for treatment on an occasion such as the present, affecting as they do the whole future of our relations with this land, and of all the work which, on so many sides and with so many varying aims, we are striving to accomplish in it. But also the very rise of these new conditions is, as I hope to make plain by what I shall presently say, in large part due to our national Christianity, and to the entire attitude towards, and manner of dealing with, this vast Dependency, which our national Christianity has imposed upon us. . . . I believe the present movement amongst educated Indians to be of very grave importance indeed. I believe that we—we Englishmen—are face to face with questions of such seriousness that it is scarcely too much

to say that we have reached 'a parting of the ways,' and that our whole relationship to, and power of influencing or further helping on the life and thought of this great land largely depends on the temper in which we meet and deal with problems which are thus at the present time arising. I do not want to exaggerate in the least. I am quite aware that in many of the ebullitions of political agitation which have recently attracted attention, more particularly in Bengal, there is a very large element that is artificial, foolish, and of no serious account whatever. . . . Our English rule has struck its roots very deep indeed—it rests on very secure foundations, not those of military strength alone, though it would be unreal and foolish to ignore that kind of strength too, but on far nobler and firmer ones still, which have been laid through many generations, and those roots are not to be lightly torn up. . . . I do desire to repeat that it is my deep conviction that we have reached a point of utmost gravity, and of far-reaching effect in our continued relations in this land, and I most heartily wish that there were more signs that this fact was clearly recognised by the bulk of Englishmen here, or even—in at all general and adequate degree—by all our rulers themselves. . . . The very first thing which, as it seems to me, it is necessary to do is to ask the 'whence' of our rule, wholly unique as it is in the world's history, in India. To what are we going, ultimately and in the last resort, to ascribe it—to our own expanding trade, to our own military strength, to our own national genius for colonisation and government, to our own anything you please; or ultimately, and in the last resort, to the Providence of God. . . . We believe in Almighty God. . . . We hold with absolute and unswerving conviction that it is He, and He alone, Who has called us to that extraordinary and unique position which we occupy . . . and that it is to Him that we shall one day, as a nation, have to give account. . . . We are here not primarily for our own sakes or for anything we can get for ourselves from India, but for her sake and for the extraordinary, the unique opportunity thus afforded us of bringing to her of our best in every department and range of life. . . . Would it not be madness to come with our English ideals, our ideals of personal freedom and equality of opportunity, of local self-government, established or aimed at, and of essential justice between man and man, to seek by every means in our power to infuse therein the life and thought of this land, and then—then to expect nothing to happen; to expect that all things would continue as they had been from the beginning? . . . We shall recognise that not stagnation, not an indefinite continuance of the relation of England to India just on the lines with which we ourselves are familiar—but progress and movement have been looked for, and their prospect welcomed—and *their prospect welcomed*—by some, at any rate, of the master minds who have in the past represented us in these lands. . . . I most certainly hold that what we see around us at the present day—the discontent, the restlessness, the desire for

larger life, and especially for closer and more sympathetic relationship with us on the part of the educated classes of India—I hold that all this is not merely something which, on the principles and methods which in our rule we have deliberately adopted, was bound sooner or later to come, but also that its appearance is in part at least a testimony, not to the defects or evils of our rule out here, very real or grievous though these may in some respects have been, but to the excellence, the nobility of our rule, and also to the success which is attending it. . . . There are not a few details of conduct and bearing increasingly noticeable amongst the better class of Indians at the present time, which inevitably jar on Englishmen, and add greatly to the difficulties of cordial relationship. There is a most noticeable diminution in that spirit of courtesy, and of little courteous observances, which have been in such special degree a characteristic, and a very attractive characteristic, of the best Indian life in the past, and the passing away of which is a very real loss indeed. But by a large number of Indians such little courtesies are now regarded with disfavour as savouring of flattery, subserviency, or servility, and are ignored up to a point which, to English habits of thought, amounts merely to boorishness and rudeness. . . . There is on many sides, *e.g.* in almost every native newspaper with which I am acquainted, a tendency very noticeable at the present time to see the worst of English life, . . . to throw into the shade to the utmost degree possible its stronger, finer sides. . . . To a certain extent I can understand and sympathise with this. Englishmen have assuredly not been slow to call attention to the defects which they have seen in Indian life and character. . . . Yet in encouraging this temper so far as is constantly done now (by Indian newspapers) they are rendering in truth a very bad service to the land they love. . . . Have not the educated classes of Indians a very real and legitimate ground of complaint in the general attitude which is taken towards them by Englishmen in this land; the utter aloofness and distance of relationship which is maintained, the grim refusal of anything even approaching to a brotherly and sympathetic bearing? . . . It is, I suppose, one of the universally recognised defects of the English character that it is naturally unsympathetic, reserved, cold. . . . But I do not think that any one can question that at the present time, and under existing conditions in this land, it is handicapping us terribly, and that it—more than any other single course that can be named—is at the root of the difficulty which is already upon us. . . . To you, whether missionaries or chaplains, I appeal from the bottom of my heart to be prominent in this good work, to see to it—to ask the Holy Spirit of His grace to grant it to you—that by no word or act of arrogance or contempt you deepen the gulf, the existence of which, at the present time, is being so forcibly brought to our notice; . . . so to treat *all* natives with whom you come in contact, and more particularly so to avail yourselves of any opportunities that may present themselves of

meeting with a genuine, unaffected sympathy, respect, and friendliness the better class of educated men, that you may each do something towards lessening the friction. . . ."

Mrs. Besant.—Naturally Lefroy's spirit was stirred within him on the occasion of Mrs. Besant's advent in the Punjab in order to lecture. The Bishop preached two sermons on the subject in Christchurch, Simla, on July 1st and 8th, 1906. I give concluding words.

"We are told that this vision of India ever becoming a Christian land is a baseless dream. I recognise instantly that the real question at issue is not the wisdom of this or that particular missionary, the ability of this or that missionary worker, but simply this—is our Blessed Lord indeed living and reigning to-day, and did He speak the truth when He declared that in heaven and earth alike all authority was given unto Him, and when, in virtue of this He entrusted to His disciples the task of the evangelisation of the world, promising them for its accomplishment, His own continual presence day by day while time shall last, or was he laying upon them an impossible commission? For me, at any rate, there can be but one answer to this question, and I feel as certain that India one day shall be indeed a Christian land, as that I am occupying this pulpit this morning. We are offered a Pantheon of semi-human, semi-divine teachers in which a niche is condescendingly found for the man Jesus. I decline the offer—not less in my own name, than in yours, fellow-members with me of the living and ascended Christ, and fellow-partakers, as we hope and believe, of His glory which shall be revealed. Such a Pantheon is an earthly habitation built upon the shifting sands of human imagination; but to us has been given the vision of the Holy City, coming down out of heaven. . . . I decline the offer, and lay down my life in absolute and unreserved devotion at the feet of Him, my Lord and my God, the Eternal and now Incarnate Word of God, Jesus Christ, Who loved me, yea, and loves me to-day, with as direct, as quick, as personal a love as ever—Who loves me and gave Himself for me."

THE EPISCOPAL SYNOD—1908

Lefroy attached the greatest importance to this annual meeting of Indian Bishops held in January at Calcutta. Perhaps the Synod of 1908 was also specially important, since the Indian Bishops, after their meeting, prepared to visit England for the Pan-Anglican Congress and the Lambeth Conference. Lefroy, of course, took his full share in these gatherings, and he made an important speech in the Albert

Hall in July of that year. In preparation for the Episcopal Synod he issued five statements sent confidentially to the Bishops beforehand.

(1) *On Unity*

I quote one paragraph.

"I would urge that, not content with laying stress on the duty, and efficacy of prayer for Unity, and on the general duty of getting to understand each other better, we should urge on the clergy and laity of our Communion to be more ready to avail themselves of such bases of practical Unity as already exist with a view to advancing towards that which we have not yet got. It should be clearly pointed out that united action on our part with members of other Communions may rightly, and therefore most urgently should, extend as far as our common basis ; in other words, we ought to unite whenever possible not only in work of general philanthropy, temperance, etc., etc. (in which we do already, I hope, try to co-operate cordially), but in several important branches of Evangelistic work, such as Literature, Bazaar preaching, Missionary Conferences, Prayer-meetings, and some others. I myself take part, not infrequently, in a weekly Bible and Prayer-meeting held in Lahore by missionaries of our own Church, of the Presbyterians, Episcopal Methodists, and any others who like to come. Few things will do more to open the way to closer union than cordially utilising in practice such union as we already have.

"It would have to be recognised that the Holy Communion and some other things lie at present outside this range."

(2) *Racial Problems and the Present Political Unrest*

"I doubt whether any of the subjects which will come up for consideration at the Synod touches more vitally the question of the spread of Christianity in India during the next few years than this one. . . .

"It is obvious that such periods of transition are fraught, for the Government of the country, with the largest issues and constitute the most vital possible test of its statesmanship and wisdom.

"But we need to remember that this is true no less of the Church than of the secular Government.

"It is certain that the attitude of educated Indians during

the next decade will be profoundly influenced by the attitude which the Church at this time adopts towards the new movements, the new aspirations, of India. An attitude of indifference or of aloofness on her part must inevitably evoke a spirit of antagonism and dislike on theirs.

"I can understand that some may deprecate our dealing in any public manner with these matters on the ground that they do not primarily concern us. My own very strong conviction is, however, that to accept this view would be a disastrous mistake. We ourselves are in the midst of—our work is being affected in countless ways by—this stir of thought and aspiration, and whether we like it or no, the educated classes will insist—as, in my opinion, they have a perfect right to insist—on our declaring our own attitude and feeling with regard to them. At such a time to be silent is simply to be indifferent and unsympathetic, *i.e.* to repel and alienate.

"As to the line which we might suitably follow I will only suggest a few points:—

"1. We should recognise, in the frankest and most cordial manner possible, that we—we as Missionaries, we as members of the English race—are responsible for this awakening in India. We should accept it, and gladly, as the natural and necessary result of our own work. We should make it plain that, in our view, for no such movement to have come sooner or later to the birth, would have meant the utter failure of our country's and our Church's Mission to India.

"2. We should go further than this. We should make some frank reference to the new sense of nationality, and to the national hopes and aspirations which are stirring all around, and say how wholly we sympathise with these *in principle*—however clearly we may recognise the enormous difficulties that stand at present in the way of their realisation. . . ."

(3) *The National Missionary Society of India*

The Bishop gives a sketch of the venture as supplied by the secretary, Mr. V. S. Azariah (now Bishop of Dornakal). It shows that there were 100,000,000 of the people of India outside the reach of existing missions.

"*Work done.*—The missionary idea has been preached in all the important centres in the Punjab, U.P., and Madras. Two organising secretaries have travelled for the Society, organising branches and creating missionary interest. As

never before—it may safely be asserted—the Indian Christians all over India have been now reminded of their duty towards their country, and more people are to-day giving their money, and offering their intercessions for the evangelisation of India than two years ago. The income of the first year was Rs. 3,500. The first field opened by the Society was in Montgomery District in the Punjab. The Punjab was chosen not only because of its need, but also because the Christian community in the Punjab was coming forward to the aid of the Society more than most other provinces. This district will be worked in conformity to the Church of England. The first worker appointed is a graduate of the Punjab University, and one trained in the C.M.S. Divinity School, Lahore.

“The Society would respectfully request the authorities of the Church to recognise the Society as one of the channels through which the missionary activities of the Indian Christians will flow. The Indian Christians have begun to look upon this movement as *their own* in a peculiar sense. It has created in the Indian Church a greater Christian patriotism, and a nobler spirit of self-sacrifice for the evangelisation of their own country. This is bound in its turn to bring a reflexive benefit on the Church itself. Such being the case it is entitled to the sympathy and prayer of those presiding over that Church to which a large body of Indian Christians own allegiance. By declaring their interest in and sympathy with the movement in general, by advising and helping in the Society's work in so far as it works in fields placed under the Church, by recognising the title to Holy Orders given by the Society, by admitting the converts in such fields to the privileges of the Church, and by maintaining a cordial relationship to the officers of the Society and the workers in the Church of England fields—the Bishops will greatly help in strengthening the missionary spirit quickened by this new organisation.

“I have cordially accepted the proposal of the Society to commence work in an unoccupied district in this Diocese. The man they have selected as their first missionary has been trained in the Lahore C.M.S. Divinity School and is a thoroughly nice young fellow. I have expressed my readiness to accept the Society's appointment as a Title when the time for his ordination comes, though I foresee some difficulty on the subject of his training during his Diaconate.

“I hope that the Synod will be prepared to encourage and assist the Society in the ways suggested by Mr. Azariah.”

(4) *Opium*

The Bishop emphasises the difference between opium eating in India and opium smoking in China and earnestly urges strong action to abolish the China trade, and refers to the resolution of the House of Commons in May, 1906. Then he proceeds :—

“(1) We may be perfectly certain that every possible effort will be made, by powerful vested interests, to deprive that resolution of its force, or to postpone action under it as long as possible ; and in view of this any utterance calculated to stiffen the back of Government in its dealing with the question will be most appropriate.

“(2) It seems to me that even the Resolution then passed was an exceedingly lame one, throwing as it did so much onus on the sincerity of China's efforts to rid herself of the drug before we consent to reduce our share in the trade. It seems impossible to doubt that—whether from wholly pure or partially mixed motives—China does heartily desire that our trade should cease or greatly lessen. Is it then for us to lay down conditions under which alone we are prepared to withdraw from a trade, the enormous moral injury resulting from which is denied by practically no one ? We should not dream of taking up such a position if we were dealing with any European Power. I think also that it can scarcely be doubted that there is a very real movement towards moral reform in this and other matters in China at the present day, however much it may be hampered and discredited by the extreme official venality and corruption ; and we surely ought to assist this to the utmost of our power.

“This awakening of China, which is going, one can scarcely doubt, to be one of the most remarkable phenomena of our days—exceeding in its importance and its effect on the world at large, as many hold, the wonderful awakening of Japan which we have so recently witnessed—invests the opium question with singular importance at the present time. It can scarcely be doubted that the attitude which the most earnest of her moral reformers take towards Christianity in the near future will depend in large measure on the attitude which the Christian Church takes towards this question of the opium trade.”

(5) *An Indian Church Weekly Paper*

"The power of the Press is a commonplace amongst us, and like other commonplaces it exercises little effect on practice, at any rate so far as the Church of England in India is concerned. All recognise, I believe, that our representation in the Press at the present time is deplorably weak. The abandonment of the *Indian Church Quarterly* meant—whatever its drawbacks may have been—a very real loss, for in its day it did good work. No one regards the *Indian Church News* as satisfactory or as representing the Church in any true sense. We have our Diocesan Records, which serve an undoubtedly useful function, but an extremely restricted one. We have no weekly journal to represent effectively the Church as a whole, to serve as a family newspaper, to keep the educated Church laity in touch with Church life and movements, to keep alive the feeling of corporate unity in the Church of the Province and to unite it in the working out of a common policy. I fully believe that the absence of such a journal is one cause (no doubt, one amongst many) of the deplorable weakness of corporate feeling in our Communion, viewed as a whole, throughout the Province, and of the utterly weak-kneed character of much of our Churchmanship.

"On the other hand, the Episcopal Methodists, not to refer to some other Nonconformist bodies, give us a practical illustration of how much success it is possible to obtain in the direction I indicate, if the matter is properly taken in hand. Their *Indian Witness* is, I believe, a thoroughly good publication, with a considerable circulation, and means much to the life of their Communion.

"Surely the success which they have attained is not impossible for us.

"It should be remembered that, if their success is in no small measure due to their addressing themselves to a social class below that which we ordinarily think of as prominent in our own body, we ourselves have far more members of that same class in our Communion than they have, and I cannot doubt that we should obtain the same response from them if we bore them as clearly in mind and addressed ourselves as directly to them. It may be that we are too much in the habit of overlooking them, and the loss entailed by this must be very great."

The above are merely extracts from the Bishop's Memoranda, sufficient to give his attitude.

Lefroy reached England in 1908 in time to see his mother once more and to be at her bedside when she passed. He had visited Palestine on his way to England, and on his return to India later in the year he was accompanied by his sister, Miss Lefroy, for a winter visit.

I have now to refer briefly to only two more of his published utterances during the Lahore period. The time was approaching for his acceptance of the call to Calcutta. His fourth triennial Visitation was made in November, 1909. In his charge the most important subject handled was the danger which he anticipated as possible of the creation of "*Race Churches*." I give a few extracts:—

"We come preaching one Christ, the One Mediator between God and man for all men—everywhere—alike, and we bring the message of that Body in which—not only there are not, but in St. Paul's language there *cannot be*, Jew or Gentile, bond or free, male or female, Indian or English: so necessarily, so vitally, are all who are really in Him made one also in each other. We preach that. Do we show it? Assuredly not, as those know best who are most intimately acquainted with the thoughts of Indian Christian Communities at the present time and know how much of estrangement, dissatisfaction and bitterness in regard to this matter there is among them. . . .

"On the one hand, there are the English congregations . . . the great majority of them are avowedly birds of passage, with but a passing interest in the land, and no desire to throw in their lot in any really deep and permanent way at all with the people of the land, whether Christian or non-Christian. Think of the bulk of the Army, who in this Diocese comprise about 28,000 out of the 36,000 Europeans. . . . This great system on the one hand, and on the other, the Indian congregations, for the most part poor and illiterate, though with an increasing proportion of men of a very different stamp and as far removed in all sorts of ways from the English congregations as possible. Is not the danger—one might almost say the inevitableness—of Race Churches most real and unmistakable? . . . The issue as it affects us in this country is simply this. In the case of very many people there is an instinctive sense of repulsion from men of an alien race—a repulsion of which I am sure Indians are often conscious, at least as much as Englishmen, possibly more so. It is not, I believe, necessarily in itself a wrong feeling, being purely spontaneous and instinctive, though it very quickly becomes wrong if it is given way to and allowed to influence conduct. The question, then, is which in our own case is the stronger, this sense of repulsion on ground of race if for us it unhappily exists, or the attraction towards such an one arising from our common membership in

Christ? . . . The difficulty, of course, is immense ; we shall gain nothing whatever by minimising it : so too, assuredly no less, was the difficulty which confronted St. Paul in connection with the fusion of Jew and Gentile. . . . To just one measure which I have myself taken in connection with it I will make passing reference, I mean the question of the admission of Indian Christian children of suitable families, to our English boarding schools. This was perhaps the most glaring instance of a colour-line being drawn in purely Christian institutions that existed amongst us, and the injury that it was doing was—as all those most qualified to judge were agreed in holding—very grievous indeed. Accordingly, as most of you know, I addressed in the early part of this year a letter to the committees of our various schools expressing my earnest hope that they might, with due safeguards, remove this barrier ; and it is with true pleasure and thankfulness that I record that with one exception my request was everywhere complied with—everywhere, that is, where need for compliance existed. . . . I wish now to lay stress on the cultivation of a warmer, more brotherly, more affectionate feeling in the ordinary intercourse of daily life. Nothing has done more harm, wounded Indian Christian feeling, I believe, more deeply than the patronising tone and temper in which we—those even of us who do most truly desire to be friendly and draw together—are so very apt to meet them. Extreme care needs to be taken in regard to the little things which in our daily intercourse produce in the aggregate so great an effect, *e.g.* that if an Indian Christian comes to see us he should not be kept waiting, or left standing, in a way that an Englishman of the same social standing would resent. Indeed, the reverse ought to be the case. I mean that we ought to be far more careful in the case of an Indian than of an Englishman, both because they are naturally a more sensitive race than ourselves, and because we have accumulated so woeful a balance on the wrong side in the past which needs to be readjusted to the utmost of our power. . . . Last Advent I held an Ordination in Hindustani in Holy Trinity Church here. One of the cathedral vestrymen went over to show his sympathy and interest by taking part in it, and at the close of the service he came into the vestry and shook hands with each of the candidates with a courtesy and an unmistakable respect and reverence for the office to which they had been admitted which could not have been surpassed. I cannot tell you how much his action was appreciated. . . . I trust it may before long be possible in some stations for English and Indian members of our Church to unite, more regularly and formally than is done at present, in the Holy Communion, there being perhaps once a month a Celebration only in one church, the Station and Mission Church alternately, and all Communicants being asked to gather at the one Holy Feast of Unity and love."

(I was myself present a few years ago at one such service on Advent Sunday at the Station Church at Delhi, a truly

delightful occasion. The officiating clergy consisted of both Europeans and Indians.—H. H. M.)

In 1910, in the Bishop's Pastoral Letter, the following words occur :—

“I hope that Chaplains on being posted to a new station will be careful to inquire whether there are any Indian Christians of suitable social status to be included in their calling list, and in that case will make a point of calling upon them, at as early a date as they conveniently can, in exactly the same way and with the same formalities as they call on English folk. . . . On the occasion of any parochial or social function also it will mean much if Chaplains will make a point of including in their invitations any Indian Christians of suitable status there may be in the place. . . . I wish also to urge most strongly on missionaries their bounden duty to keep in touch to the utmost degree possible with the English society of their Station. I know as well as any one how difficult it often is to do this on account of claims of afternoon or evening work and the like, but I am sure it is worth a most real and sustained effort to effect it. It is ridiculous to blame English men and women out here for holding aloof from the missionaries and taking little interest in Mission work if the missionaries themselves hold aloof from the English and show little interest in them and their life in this land. I am sure that no small portion of the responsibility for the gulf which too often does exist in a Station between the English life and the missionary. Indian life rests on the shoulders of the missionaries for having failed in their duty in this direction.”

LETTERS OF THE SAME PERIOD, 1905-1912

Difficulties of Consecration of Bishops for India have long been a trouble to the Church.

The following letter refers to the problem :—

“Harvington, Simla : July 6, 1905.

“Bishop Copleston ran up to see the Viceroy over some matter connected with the Consecration of the new Bishop for Travancore. Hitherto consecrations to that See, and as I understand to Japan, China, and everything that is known as ‘foreign territory,’ have been under the Jerusalem Bishopric Act, and therefore necessarily at home. Bishop Copleston greatly dislikes this (perfectly rightly, I think, so far as principle is concerned), and holds that the Province ought to consecrate its own Bishops. You know how keen I was to be consecrated out here, believing it to be right in principle. He therefore falls back from the Act, on the general powers.

inherent in the Church, and says *of course*, as we are a completely constituted Province, we can consecrate him all right, without any specially empowering Act, and all we want is for the Governor of India to say that if he is so consecrated, with the full approval of the Governor of India, they will accord him due recognition as the successor of the late Bishop. He apparently has got the Viceroy to his side, but he recognises himself that it is very uncertain whether he will be able to carry Mr. Brodrick and the other authorities at home, including perhaps his Grace. I believe his position to be perfectly sound from the point of view of Church principles, but it rather ignores red tape and is not an easy morsel for lawyers to swallow. The position is made more difficult by the Bishop designate having rather taken alarm at the Metropolitan's proposals, fearing that they will land him in a native state with less definite status and certainty of recognition than his predecessors enjoyed, and having settled to go off home to satisfy himself, to inquire whether the authorities at home are inclined to agree and that his position is secure. In this and in all ways the Metropolitan takes the very high, spiritual view of things, and this is what makes it so good to be in his company for a bit, so as to get down to deeper ground."

And though it is two years later I insert here the next letter.

"Bishopshourne, Lahore : Feb. 14, 1907.

"I saw the Metropolitan off from the Diocese last Monday. It has been a very great pleasure and help being with him for the ten days. It is so exceedingly good for one having to take a back seat occasionally—and yet so honestly difficult at ordinary times for one in my position, even if I were by nature far more inclined to occupy that position than I am. But the ten days of lying low, and listening to another talking, and attending on him—one, too, to whom I can look up with such a whole-hearted respect and affection as a much wiser and better man than myself—have been very refreshing and good. And he really is a delightful character—a real 'Apostle of Love.' I heard him give a number of addresses—to very differently constituted audiences—and I think every one was on love—God's love to us—our love to God, and to man. It lifted me into a high region. And he got through the fairly stiff programme I had prepared for him much better than I expected. At leaving he expressed himself greatly delighted with all he had seen and said that for the character of our

workers—men and women—for the solidity of plant, building, etc., etc., and general energy and ‘go’ in the work, he did not think he had seen anything at all comparable to it in any other part of the country. Of course the Punjab, with its splendid cold weather climate, as bracing as possible, ought to lead in all such respects, but it is well to think, on his authority, that it does.”

The next two letters show that Lefroy, in regard to an acute political controversy, was strongly upon the side of Lord Curzon as against Lord Kitchener. At the same time it will also be noted that Lefroy’s association with Lord Kitchener in regard to the welfare of the army was of the happiest description.

To the Viceroy, Lord Curzon.

“Simla: Aug. 21, 1905.

“May I say how very greatly I regret the step which I learn you have at length felt compelled to take. I am quite sure that in a very short time, even if it is not already the case, all thinking men throughout the country will recognise how very grievous has been the loss sustained by India in your premature departure. For myself I would like to thank you warmly for the unfailing kindness which I have experienced at your hands. I have every reason to feel that in Lady Curzon and yourself I lose from the country genuine friends.”

“Viceregal Lodge, Simla: Aug. 21, 1905.

“MY DEAR BISHOP,

“I am much touched by your kind words. I do not think there is a less dejected man in India than myself, and if friends like yourself, who are impartial, think that I adopted the right course, great and valuable encouragement is given to me in my own feeling.

“I shall always look back with pleasure upon the facts that I was instrumental in offering a bishopric to so eminent a man, though at that time unknown to me, and that subsequent knowledge only availed to confirm (by no means a uniform experience) the wisdom of my act.

“Looking forward to our next meeting in England in 1908,

“I am,

“Yours sincerely,
“CURZON.”

“ Harvington, Simla : Aug. 24, 1905.

“ I have preached my two sermons on gambling, and they are to be printed, so I will send you copies. They are coming out first in one of the daily papers, which is best of all, as far more people see them in that way than any other. I was amused at the remark of a lady at lunch last Saturday. ‘ You are going to preach on Bridge to-morrow, are you not ? ’ ‘ Yes. ’ ‘ You are going down immediately afterwards ? ’ in an alarmed tone of voice, as though so only was there any reasonable chance of my life being spared. A few people have spoken warmly to me about them, and others I hear are indignant, which is perhaps a better sign.”

“ Bishopsbourne, Lahore : Aug. 29, 1905.

“ My gambling sermons have ‘ caught on ’ at any rate, whether anything comes of them or not. I have scarcely met a fresh person this week who has not brought the subject up, and last night I was told that some men here in Lahore are laying their heads together to produce a reply. At any rate that’s more notice than all sermons secure ! Meantime I have had some very nice letters from subalterns, and other young fellows who are in difficulties, thanking me for what I have said, and putting all sorts of problems, as to whether I think it would be wrong for them to go in for the Calcutta ‘ Derby Sweep ’ simply to have the chance of helping parents at home, of paying off debt, etc., etc. I can’t help much in such cases, but it seems as if I had got home to them.”

A word of thanks is welcome.

“ Viceregal Lodge, Simla : Aug. 22, 1905.

“ I must write you one line to tell you how very much I appreciated the Confirmation Service yesterday. I am so glad Violet was one of the candidates. The rules you laid down for their future lives so clearly in your address will, I am sure, always be a help to her throughout her life, and I feel certain that yesterday’s service will always be a happy recollection.

“ I hope you will forgive me for sending you these few lines, but I thought I should like to tell you how thoroughly Violet appreciated what you said.

“ Yours very sincerely,
“ MARY MINTO.”

“ Harvington, Simla : June 14, 1906.

“ Mrs. Annie Besant has just been lecturing up here, and the whole world has run after her. I suppose you know more

or less what she stands for. She is certainly a beautiful speaker—very eloquent, with excellent choice of words. And on some points I can go with her, *e.g.* one lecture was simply an argument for the spiritual, instead of the merely materialistic, view of life. I enjoyed it, without agreeing with all details, and was quite glad she had given it, as there were a good many present who rarely set foot in church. On the other hand, much in her first lecture was wholly anti-Christian in essential principle and position, yet this too appears to have been greatly admired by many of our own people—including some good Church folk—who seem wholly unable to see how wholly such teaching conflicts with our blessed Lord's claims, and seem to have been attracted merely by her maintenance of the shallow, but so popular, position that it does not matter what a man believes if his life is right. I am a good deal distressed. At one time I thought of giving a public lecture in reply to that first one of hers, but now I don't think it would be desirable to do this. I must deal with it in church some day."

"Chaman, Afghanistan : Tuesday, March 20, 1906.

"I am at one of the farthest outposts of our Empire—indeed beyond the Empire, properly speaking—for we are really in Afghanistan proper, and it was only with the utmost reluctance that the late Amir let us occupy this spot on his side of the mountain range which is the true boundary between the countries. I believe he said that in driving the tunnel through, we had 'run a borer into his vitals.' I came through on the engine yesterday, the driver lighting up the tunnel for me by some electric arrangement which they had fitted up for T.R.H. who were here last week. It is a fine engineering work, but a good deal like other tunnels. Here it seems funny to find a regular English life going on—the young fellows at their polo, the ladies (there are only four of them in the one native regiment which constitutes the entire garrison) playing croquet, etc., with the boundary between the two countries indicated by a line of white posts about three miles off, beyond which if you set a foot you are liable to be captured and put in durance vile, while the Afghan fort grins at ours about seven miles off."

"Multan : March 14, 1906.

"I am enjoying my trip in special degree. At present it is partly due to the splendid facilities which are being given me to address the troops on moral questions. They are splendid opportunities and I am most thankful for them, but

they take a good deal out of me, especially when added to all the usual duties of a Visitation.

"Here almost the whole garrison was paraded in the open—a temporary platform made for me; the General Commanding came up on to it with me, and for fifteen or twenty minutes I talked very straight. Some of the officers said afterwards they thought much good had been done. Even five years ago this sort of thing would not have been thought of—nothing but voluntary meetings, and at them, though they have some distinct advantages, you are apt *not* to get the very men you most want to talk to."

It will be remembered that a few years before this time Lefroy and Allnutt had conceived a plan for Commentaries for Indian Christians.

"Bishopsbourne, Lahore : Dec. 6, 1906.

"I am sending you a copy of my Charge, which is just out, and also a copy of what is to me a most fascinating and valuable little commentary (?) on the Philippians. In its preface you will see what its special purport is and the part I have taken in connection with it. If one can't write books oneself, it's something to help in making other people write them, and I think this little volume is a most real acquisition. In its constant reference to Indian life and thought it is quite unlike anything we at present have, while simply as an English Commentary I think it takes a very high place. I am reading it myself devotionally in the mornings and like it greatly. But the chief idea of the series is that they should be translated into the chief vernacular, and so supply what is at present a *great* need. It is also very pleasant—and on the line in which I always want to work—to see how different 'parties' are drawing together in the scheme. This first production is from the pen of a C.M.S. man in Madras, the next will be, I expect, by Canon Brown, head of the O.M. Calcutta."

It may be as well to state here the progress made in the issue of these Commentaries. All are published by the S.P.C.K. At the present time (1919) the following are in existence besides Philippians: St. Matthew, by Dr. W. Stanton; Acts, by T. Walker; 2 Corinthians, by A. Crosthwaite; Hebrews, by W. H. G. Holmes; Revelation, by Dr. Waller, Bishop of Tinnevely.

The following letters deal with the Bishop's relations with Lord Kitchener, and will be welcome reading. But the first refers to Lord Kitchener's brother.

"Harvington, Simla : July 2, 1903.

"I have been very greatly cheered and encouraged during the last week by some intercourse with Gen. W. Kitchener, brother to the Chief and at present in command of the Lahore District. He was up here for a week, and came twice to see me and to talk over a scheme he has for starting a tea-house for the men, first of all in Lahore itself, where it appears to be urgently needed, and then, if the plan succeeds, in other places as well. He has thought it out all himself, though now making the draft of it over to me for alteration or correction, wanting me to get the patronage of the Viceroy and Lieut.-Governor, and altogether to take a leading part in running it, and his attitude in the whole matter is the nicest possible. He was at the early Celebration on Sunday himself."

"Harvington, Simla : 1905.

"I sat next Lord Kitchener at dinner a couple of nights ago and had a lot of interesting talk. He was spinning some extraordinary tales of his doings on a tour he took along the Indian Frontier some time ago. He asked me to ride out with him on Saturday to a country house he has, six or seven miles out, to see his garden, of which he is very fond, and have lunch. It should be interesting. It will mean nearly a day off, as we are to start at eleven ; on my way back I have to stop in the afternoon at a house for tennis, and in the evening I have been compelled to go to the theatre, for a variety entertainment got up on behalf of the Mayo Orphanage, one of our important institutions up here, which I am bound to support. The latter I would gladly be out of, but the day off I can do with, as I haven't had one since I came up, barring a Sunday six weeks back when I was rather seedy.

"Lord Kitchener so plainly wants to be friendly and civil. I heard, quite indirectly and unexpectedly, that after a long talk I had with him some weeks back on questions of morality in the Army, he sent round a general order to all officers on one point which I had strongly urged on him, though with little hope that he would take action. I hope real good has been done, at any rate in this one respect, and I shall have another good go-in on Saturday, all being well.

"Harvington, Simla : June 27, 1907.

"I had a very interesting, and in many ways enjoyable, day with Lord Kitchener last Saturday. I felt the matter in debate between us was of so much importance that it would be better to accept his offer and ride out with him in the morning. We started at 11 o'clock and never broke the walk for the six miles to his country house, going at it hammer and tongs the whole way, as well as for an hour or so after arrival. I wholly failed to get out of him what I wanted, which I greatly regret, but I felt again the pleasure which I have always experienced in dealing with him of being able to say exactly what you think, without reserve or qualification, and be taken in absolute good part. I was attacking vigorously a policy to which he is committed and by which he sets great store, and he was as pleasant and fair throughout as possible ; indeed, at the end of our talk I had to admit that I believed in his place I should take very much his line, however I might regret it. I still think good may have been done. He knows a good many facts that he didn't know on Saturday morning, and one or two of his high officers are quite with me in the matter, and will go at him independently on it, and the cumulative effect may come to something."

"Harvington, Simla : July 26, 1906.

"I had an exceedingly interesting day with Lord K. last Saturday. I rode out with one other Colonel to his house, and there were just the four (an A.D.C. the fourth) to lunch. He got on to Omdurman, and gave many interesting details. Then for a good two hours he and I were walking up and down the garden paths hammering away at questions affecting the morality of the army. I think it does real good having these talks, even if nothing very definite comes of them. It is a great pleasure being able to say to a man in that position just exactly what one feels—whether smooth things or rough—and to know that he won't mind a bit. I have never had to deal with a big man in whom this characteristic was more marked."

"Harvington, Simla : Aug. 15, 1907.

"I know you and mother will be interested to hear that Lord Kitchener has after all taken the action which I urged on him, but which at first he refused to do. The whole subject is such an unpleasant one that I don't care to go into details, but I hope and believe that some good will come of what has now been done. I have just had a message to say

that he wants to have another talk with me on the subject, so I am going over to him this afternoon, and in the evening I dine with the Viceroy.

"In her last letter mother referred to Mr. Morley in connection with my Charge. I sent him a copy and got a very kind and appreciative answer through his private secretary. I have just written a letter for our local paper on the present position, urging more quietness and moderation and a franker recognition of the large section of thoroughly loyal educated natives that exists. I think much harm has been done, and the latter class greatly discouraged, by the sweeping terms of condemnation and contempt in which it is the fashion nowadays to refer to 'the educated class' in the Anglo-Indian Press."

The next letter happily closes the series.

"Simla : Aug. 17, 1909.

"MY DEAR BISHOP,

"Herewith a photo, which I hope you will like.

"I shall always remember our many conversations and the kind and considerate way in which you have helped me to do something to improve the moral life of the men of the army.

"I hope they will keep it up.

"Yours very truly,

"KITCHENER."

The next two letters, written three months earlier, indicate the Bishop's efforts to act as a mediator between the races. His Charge dealt with those troubles publicly.

I preface them by facts supplied to me by Mr. Alfred Nundy, an Indian and a Christian, Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. Nundy was editor of *The Tribune* at Lahore, and in 1907 he came into touch, and very helpfully, with the Bishop. There had been riots which culminated in the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai. Lefroy considered that misunderstanding existed between educated Indians and the Government. Finally, he met on two occasions some of the Indian leaders at Mr. Nundy's house. He then arranged that a deputation should wait upon the Lieut.-Governor in order to explain the Indian position. On another occasion Mr. Nundy made his house of use by inviting the Bishop to meet the leading members of Christian denominations in Lahore, he being the

only European present on the occasion. The result was most happy on both sides.

" Bishopsbourne, Lahore : May 16, 1907.

" I have a very big and delicate thing on this afternoon, though in comparison to the support of God's grace, for which I look, it is a molehill. You can understand, of course, the state of tension in which we have recently been living here and the bitterness of feeling between the two races which is being engendered by all this rioting on one hand and repression on the other. Things are much worse than when I wrote my Charge last October ; much worse, I think, than I have ever known them since 1879. It occurred to me, meditating on the sadness of the position on Sunday, that possibly there might be room for some sort of intermediary between the Government and the leaders of the Hindu community—at any rate the moderate amongst them. I went to one whom I knew and asked was there a chance of my services being of any use if I offered them ? He jumped at the idea and, after a certain amount of palavering, some twelve or so of them are to come to this house this evening. I hear they are all barristers, pleaders, or men of that ilk, and I have no doubt whatever that *their* hope will be to get me into a false position of some kind, *e.g.* in approaching the Government on behalf of this man who has been deported, or the like. My own position and aim, however, is so perfectly simple that I hope no harm will come of it, and possibly, by God's help, good. I have no doubt there are some extremists, genuinely seditious, who will decline to meet Government in any way, but I am not without hope that I may be able to induce some of the moderate to separate themselves openly and avowedly from their party, to admit—which is what the native Press are trying to deny—that there is real sedition astir, and to disavow it. If this could be done a very real step would have been gained. But just at present it is delicate work for any one connected in any way with Government to have dealings at all—except on purely official lines—with those who are believed to be tainted with disloyalty."

" Bishopsbourne, Lahore.

" Sanawar : July 23, 1907.

" The meeting with the Hindu leaders came off and was very interesting. I can't tell you much about it without going into details for which I have not time, but I think some good was done. At the time hardly anything seemed to have come of it. as after 1½ hours' talk they politely withdrew

without taking any action. Two days afterwards, however, three or four of the principal men came to see me one by one, and seemed to be much more inclined to really make peace with Government and knuckle under a bit. I hope it may prove so."

No man ever enjoyed a bit of fun more than Lefroy, as the following letter indicates.

"Harvington, Simla : July 18, 1907.

"Simla is having a woeful laugh at your son, on this wise. Last week there was a sale on behalf of the Y.W.C.A. I had to say something at the opening and then to *do* something at the stalls. As you can imagine, the latter is difficult for me, especially at such an essentially feminine show. However, I secured a friend, a judge's wife, and said she must help me to spend a certain amount of money. At one stall she said to me, 'How would you like that cushion?' a very pretty piece of hand-painting, fruit and flowers, on satin. I liked it; it was rather expensive, but I said I might as well buy one good thing and discharge my obligations at once as go pottering on with a lot of small things, so I got it. As we walked away from the stall a lady came up and whispered to my friend, 'Will you tell me what the Bishop is going to do with that'—saché, I think they called it—anyhow, something for putting a lady's nightdress in! For such in truth it turned out to be, my friend asserting her own entire innocence. Anyhow, Simla has got a hold of it, and is having much sport. One of the Martin girls declares that a couple of days ago she heard two nursery-maids on the road which runs at the back of our house, and one was telling the other the story and speculating on what I wanted it for. Having bought it as a cushion, I hold that it is such; I have given it to Mrs. Martin, and it figures on one of her couches in the drawing-room, and looks extremely pretty. I know you will pity me."

AN INDIAN ARCHDEACON

In 1909 Bishop Lefroy seriously set himself to obtain the services of a second Archdeacon for the superintendence of missionary work, as distinct from the oversight of chaplains and the care of Europeans. He also desired to appoint an Indian clergyman to the post. The subject is of importance ecclesiastically.

Bishop Lefroy first approached the Chief Secretary to Government in the Punjab, and pointed out that in his "Letters Patent" the following passage occurred :—

"The said Bishop of Lahore and his successors may found and constitute one or more (but not exceeding two) archdeacons within the said Diocese of Lahore, and may appoint one or more (as the case may require) fit and proper persons, being a chaplain or chaplains on one of our ecclesiastical establishments in India, of not less than two years' standing, to be Archdeacon or Archdeacons of the said archdeaconry or archdeacons."

He said that Bishop French had tried to appoint the Rev. Robert Clark, a C.M.S. missionary, and no chaplain, and suggested he might be made an "Honorary Chaplain." The Government refused. Bishop Lefroy now asked to have the clause removed from the "Letters Patent," leaving the Bishop free in the matter of a second Archdeacon, promising that it should be no expense to the Government. He found State limitations were hampering him in the normal and healthy expansion of his Diocese.

In due time (April 26, 1909) a letter was written from the India Office favourable to the idea that there should be two chaplains, each with distinct duties and without any danger of clashing. But they further asked how such a feat could be accomplished, since they understood that an archdeaconry is a territorial jurisdiction. The Bishop then wrote to his Metropolitan, saying that he had looked upon an archdeaconry purely as an office and not a territory: it would not be feasible to assign a territory to the second Archdeacon. He needed an Archdeacon (preferably an Indian priest) who would exercise jurisdiction over the Indian Christians, and in no way interfere with Europeans. Suffice it to say that all difficulties were removed. The Indian priest, the Rev. Ihsan Ullah, was appointed Archdeacon with the hearty assent of chaplains as well as missionaries.

In a letter to his home circle enclosing the correspondence, and dated December 12, 1910, the Bishop says :—

"You will know that the enclosed means a lot to me—it represents, in a sense, 2½ years of work; though, of course, in

another sense the real work in connection with it, for me and for the Archdeacon, is only now beginning. But I offer thanks to God for having enabled me to bring it to this stage. The Archdeacon preached in the cathedral on Sunday, and startled the people by his force and fire. He shouted too much, but the ring of sincerity all through was unmistakable, and I believe much impressed many—indeed, I hear one lady said she was on the verge of tears. The Lieutenant-Governor was stirred."

WOMEN'S WORK

It is impossible to pass from the Lahore Episcopate of Bishop Lefroy without reference to the Society of St. Hilda. Moreover, it brings into prominence his earnest desire to promote the welfare of Europeans settled in India, and of those who are of mixed blood. These are called severally the Domiciled Community and the Anglo-Indians. (The name applied to the latter till of late was Eurasian.) There are, of course, an increasing number of Europeans who settle in India: for example, soldiers after they have completed their term of service, and who fill posts on railways and places of business, and it is all the more likely that they become permanent dwellers in India if they marry Indian wives. Thus a population of mixed blood arises, and there is no class in India which needs our practical care more than this. They are all Christians, and they may through neglect fall very low. It is especially the girls that call forth the instructed sympathy of English people. For the sake of both the classes mentioned, Bishop Matthew, Lefroy's predecessor, commenced, in 1893, a Women's Settlement at Lahore, with Katherine Beynon as the head. Their work grew, all the more because of the great civil and military establishments in the Punjab, as well as those of the railways. In 1896 Katherine Beynon was ordained deaconess by Bishop Matthew, and made the head of St. Hilda's Society. In due time the community was developed into a highly organised Deaconesses' Institution in 1903, with the Bishop as Warden, with Deaconess Katherine as head, with five other deaconesses and twenty Churchworkers. Deaconess Katherine is still the head, and Bishop Lefroy once said that

when the history of the missions of the Church in India came to be fully written, the name of Deaconess Katherine would receive a very honoured place, although even then it would not be known what a power of good she had been. And it is good to know that she is closely related to the Lawrences. Schools at Lahore, Simla, Rawulpindi, and Murree are some of their responsibilities. Lefroy was probably considered by women workers as rather a stern person, but wholly sympathetic and with knowledge when they were in real need. In regard to St. Hilda's Society he was keen that it should be a united body, heart and soul; a representative of the attitude of the Church of the first days. "Remember," he once said to them, "your real witness out here will be what you are to one another: that relationship is what is being noticed and commented upon continually by those around." Again, in forming a constitution he was most careful that there should be no ambiguities to lead to trouble afterwards. Moreover, he had no patience with those who complained of their difficulties, or that they made any special work impossible. "I have yet to learn that the difficulty of a post is sufficient reason for withdrawing from it." There spoke the man who had graduated in bazaar preaching. In all money matters Lefroy was generous to a fault. St. Hilda's Society does not forget that inasmuch as they could not at once rebuild Auckland House at Simla, he left the money for it in his will.

CHAPTER XVI

SPIRITUAL LETTERS AND PROBLEMS OF DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE

I HAVE reserved Lefroy's letters on these subjects for one chapter, concentrating them in order that their cumulative effect may indicate his character and standpoint. Of course, I have only been able to make a mere selection. What will strike the reader, I think, is the steady level of his own spiritual life which they indicate. The letters cover some fifteen years of his life, partly at Delhi and partly at Lahore.

The first two that I print are specially sacred, and are precious as showing the delicacy with which Lefroy approached the deepest subjects. Obviously I have given no indication as to the person addressed.

"There is no need for me to tell you how very deeply I felt the other trouble which — told me of as accompanying the physical one, or how earnestly I sympathise with and pray for you in it, that you may be delivered altogether from the power of the evil one. It was not, of course, altogether a surprise to me, for you have often used words to me which were, I think, more than half intended to convey something of the sort, and I have often wondered whether I ought to ask you directly what you meant, or whether you would care to tell me anything more. I could not, however, be sure whether you wished to be understood as referring altogether to the past, and I never felt quite justified in seeming to force a confidence which you did not on the whole think it quite desirable to give. If I have been to blame, or if it would have made it easier for you to speak if I had so spoken, or if you half expected this of me, you must forgive me. It is no easy thing to know just when harm may come of speaking and when good. After all, however, the sadness of the news

was not so great as the comfort of knowing what — could say, also that you were unmistakably conscious of progress made in the overcoming of temptation and breaking off the habit of sin before this last breakdown came. To be among 'them that are overcoming' is a high privilege. And one does feel very much that while there is, we must believe that there is, one kind of strength which comes from freedom from, or ignorance of, any special form of sin, yet there is another kind of strength which those only can have who have themselves wrestled with the devil, and even in the midst of defeat found the power of victory which lies in the name of Jesus. The struggle, as they see it in others and long to assist, must have a reality which must give an immense power of sympathy, and the actual experience of victory must be of untold value. I read some words the other day which seemed to me helpful in this, and I copied them out. You may like to see them. 'It is sad to look back on our life sometimes and see what we might have been and what we are. To see the great rents and seams which disfigure our life, which mark where sin has made its ravages and raised a living protest against our broken vows. To see how want of faith has altered the symmetry and fullness of our life, and want of obedience has brought us into the snare. But just as a clever artist can beautify the careless daub or the faulty stroke by fresh conception or design, harmonising all in the completed work, so God even where we spoil His plan and mar His designs works out our very mistakes into an altered but harmonious whole.' I think it is helpful, and it does seem a distinctively Gospel message beyond all words.

"May you be given the grace to be able even directly after a fall to look the sin in the face and say the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin. The genuine conviction of forgiveness in spite of the worst shame or sin and the blotting out of the past must, I suppose, be the greatest of all powers in recovery. You may be glad to think that if on the one hand you have inherited terrible evil, yet it lies with you to cut off the entail, and this is the fight in which you are not fighting alone, for the Spirit of purity is fighting for you and with you and claiming you bit by bit. A text has been a great help to me through these last weeks, which have been to me, as you know, a time of very great sorrow and difficulty, and in some ways more than you know, and I should like to give it to you. 'My God shall fulfil every need of yours according to His riches in glory in Christ Jesus.' May it strengthen us both for the coming year. Please do exactly

as you like in the matter of writing at all, or ever in future alluding in speaking, to this matter. We are together in prayer and struggle, and the consciousness of that may well suffice *unless* you think you could in any way be helped by speaking."

A second letter to the same.

"1896.

"This is not exactly an answer to yours, for I had just started it the day before yours came but then let it lie by as there was no further need of getting an answer to it, and I had plenty of others to write which did need answering. As you may easily imagine, I should not have left the country without sending you something: it would have been strange if I had, considering you have been on the whole more in my thoughts than any one else. Thank God for the measure of triumph of which you are able to tell, in spite of the terrible strain which still lasts. You know that few things could put me on my way with as clear a heart as the knowing of this. And that the day will come, in spite of the awful present pain, when you will be able to praise His name for His goodness through it all, I have not the shadow of a doubt. The measure of the pain is the measure of the depth to which the cancer, largely without your knowing it, had eaten into you, and He Whose love for you is too perfect to willingly leave any trace of it behind, is now probing you to the exact depth that is necessary to get it all out, not one hundredth part of an inch deeper. Only hold on, ever tighter and tighter to Him. It was part of the great disappointment which it was to me to have to make up my mind to leave India (on furlough), that I should not be able to be with you and fight out this fight to the end side by side: I would fain have had it so. But I have no doubt that He sees this is one of the ways that He saw my absence for a time was best, that you should go straight to Him, and only to Him. Only as April draws nearer hold tighter and tighter, for be quite sure that before the end does come, there will be some moment of terrible temptation, probably coming in a perfectly unexpected form, when nothing will stand you in stead but the *habit* of resting in the Rock of our might. *To him that overcometh.* If I may have one last word with you, it would be to let these words, with all their warning and high stimulus, ring in your ears throughout this Lent."

Bereavement.

"C.M.D.: May 20, 1890.

"On Sunday I was at an out-station taking the services and staying with a young fellow who had heard two or three days before of his father's death by telegram. He was in great sorrow and had been absolutely alone, with not a soul to talk to, and let his sorrow out. This, of course, had made it worse. Do you remember a beautiful saying of Phillips Brooks, that every great experience we pass through in life puts into our hands, if we will but take it and use it, a key 'sometimes golden, sometimes iron,' by which we may unlock for others the gates of similar experiences and lead them through into brighter light beyond? I think that has been partly true with me now. I think I was able to be a real comfort in some degree, and even perhaps to help him to lay hold more firmly on the unseen world and God than he had ever done before, for he was one of those who has been through many doubts and difficulties. I do hope he may see light in God's light. A. is going to spend next Sunday with him, and that is sure to be a help. I have had a great joy this week, but it is almost too late and I am too tired to tell you of it. I have been so longing, latterly especially, to get into closer touch with the people, and feeling so much the gulf which cuts us off from them. I seemed to have scarcely any outside the College on whom one could really bring any influence to bear."

To the Rev. B. K. Cunningham on his Ordination.

"June 5, 1897.

"If I do not share your surprise at the result I can none the less enter very fully into your feelings of awe and half shrinking. Awe there must and should be, but shrinking there need not be if we only keep clearly in mind at each point that we have not chosen Him but He has chosen us and sent us, and therefore He is pledged to give what we need for carrying out the Commission He has entrusted. Only let it grow year by year deeper into our souls that we have nothing 'which we have not received,' and then no gift of His can surprise or elate us but only fill us with a fresh sense of awe and of responsibility for only answering to so great a trust."

To the Rev. C. Mayhew, on Confirmation.

"February 2, 1900.

"It occurs to me to add a line on another subject arising out of a letter I received yesterday from F., which I enclose.

Day told me some time ago that W. was coming to work there and was not confirmed, and asked about his reception to the Holy Communion. I replied that I knew of no reason why, in a case like this, where 'religious privileges' have abounded from childhood, the plain rule of the Church of England should be waived, but I said that if Mr. W. wished to make any special representation on the subject, he might do so to me and I would give the matter careful consideration. I do not see how I can act in any other way. The laxity on the subject amongst many of our native brethren is appalling, and if I sanction laxity in the case of an Englishman like this, what can I say to the others? At the same time I am content to leave to the individual clergyman a certain amount of discretion in applying the rule, if any special circumstances seem to warrant it."

To the same, on Joint Meetings.

"April 1, 1900.

"You will doubtless have heard, or hear, from Bateson what he and I settled upon as a working policy for the A.P.A., viz., not to attempt to keep all the men who take the pledge together in a very close association, as this brings in the religious difficulty, it being impossible to deal with them effectively on one religious basis, while it is essential that the sin should be fought directly trusting to the grace of God. It seems better, therefore, for the Chaplains of each denomination to deal separately with his own men, striking out such line as seems best to himself for helping them and keeping them together. It might still be possible—and well—to have an *occasional* meeting, say one or two in the year, of all the members of the Association, *e.g.* when any good speaker is prepared to address them, or as the Chaplains see fit.

"I shall be very much obliged if in the course of a few months you will make me a report of the lines on which you are working the thing, the difficulties you experience, and the possibilities you see."

To the same, on the Use of Churches.

"May 18, 1900.

"With regard to the use of the Cherat church, I am ready to treat it on exactly the same footing as the others which are known as Government churches, and if Mr. Scott wishes it for a *Parade service* I will sanction its use. I should not wish to introduce any new departure—or further concession—by lending it for other than parade services. If it does come to his asking for it, it might be well for him to recognise in

his letter that it does stand on a distinct footing, so that he asks it purely and simply as a favour with not even that sort of claim which the custom that has been set up may be considered to give in the case of the others."

To the same, on Evening Communion.

"October 8, 1900.

"I am much interested in what you say about the Celebration in the evening. I have no doubt you were right in having it then, or under similar wholly exceptional circumstances. The Sabbath is made for man, not *vice versa*."

"But I should not myself think that on the whole the gain to individuals would compensate for the departure from such very ancient custom and the other drawbacks associated with evening Communion *except* under such special circumstances."

To Deaconess Alice Matthew.

"Bishopsbourne, Lahore : March 5, 1900.

"Besides fairly regular prayer for you since you first told me, I have made your admission all last week the subject of my Eucharistic intercession. I believe that it means a great deal for the work of the Diocese, and for the extending of the Deaconess movement, of which your brother—and not he alone—hoped such great things."

To the Rev. S. W. Key, on Sponsors.

"June 28, 1900.

"I am very sorry that I feel obliged to decline the request you make to me to be godparent to your little one. The family argument appeals to me very much. Perhaps just because I have been for almost all my life so cut off from my kith and kin I feel the family tie very much indeed. But deeper still is the feeling which I have always maintained as to the nature of the godparental relation. I feel sure it ought to be a very real and deep and true one, and I try to make it such between myself and all my godchildren. But this has necessarily led me, conversely, to decline the relationship in those cases in which I thought this condition could not be satisfied. In the case of your child I could not hope to have that acquaintance with him or with the circumstances of his home and life without which it is for me almost impossible to feel that responsibility or interest which I consider to belong to the relation of godparent."

To Miss Barnard, at Delhi.

"Sunday.

"I have just heard from Mr. Allnutt that you have been elected Head, and I want to lose no time in sending you a word of sympathy and of cheer. I know how very far from your natural inclination any such a position would be, and also how sorry you will be to leave Karnal—and what poor Deaconess Mary will do I do not know! But your loyalty will support you, and you will remember that it is not for us to choose our place—a low one any more than a high one—according to our own tastes, but to obey God's call, and throw our whole heart and soul into doing as well as we can *any* piece of work with which He may entrust us.

"And then there is always something of a stimulus in the very fact that those who have worked with us do think well of us, and are willing, as in the case of the Community at present, to accept our leadership and direction. One must respond in some measure to such trust and long not wholly to disappoint it. And so I know that you will enter on this new stage of your life in quiet real dependence on God, trying to feel Him very near you—trying greatly to grow in this inexpressibly helpful and bracing sense of His Presence, and glad of any fresh opportunity of serving Him.

"You and your position flashed into my mind as I heard the Epistle read this morning, and I know not what better wish I can have for you, or what better prayer to make, than that you may be 'strengthened with all power, according to the might of His glory, unto all patience and long-suffering with *joy*; giving thanks unto the Father.' So that is what I will pray for you."

To the same, on Confession.

"March 3, 1899.

"In speaking of your entire freedom in the matter of Confession during holidays I was not at all thinking of the furlough which comes only at such long intervals, but of the annual holiday. I wanted to leave you entirely free except as regards a quite *systematic* use of it in the mission itself. You will, I am sure, understand also that this quite permits (what I believe neither I nor any other clergyman would have the slightest right to refuse) the asking to be received to Confession at any time when *special* need arises in the mission itself. Rightly or wrongly, I seem to see a broad line of distinction between the systematic use of the ordinance as a regular part of the ordering of one's religious life, even at infrequent intervals, and the resort to it in exceptional

trouble when a distinct longing for it and its help is felt. And at present it is the latter position that seems to me most truly in accord with the spirit and teaching of our branch of the Church Catholic. I recognise, however, increasingly the great difficulty of drawing hard and fast lines on the subject, especially in view of the many holy men of our Communion who do use it in the other way, and I feel less and less inclined to dogmatise on it."

To the same.

"Easter Eve, 1900.

"I want to send to you, and through you to all the members of the Community in Delhi, one word of heartiest Easter greeting.

"Things sometimes look dark and difficult and discouraging for us in our work out here, but never so dark and discouraging as everything looked to the disciples on the day of the Crucifixion; and yet it was through the Crucifixion that the way lay to all the joy and brightness of the Easter Victory. May we have grace always to bear this well in mind, and 'for the joy that is set before us' to despise the shame, and go working on steadily and strongly—knowing that despondency and faint-heartedness is impossible for a Christian—till our Master in His own good time grants the harvest. May the Peace which our blessed Lord gave His disciples on Easter evening be yours abundantly."

To the same.

"Christmas Eve, 1900.

"One line of most hearty greeting to you and the other members of the Community who are in Delhi. May God's Holy Spirit indeed be with you to-morrow, and open the eyes of your understanding so that you may see deeper than ever before into the meaning and power and inspiration of the marvellous truth of 'The Word became flesh.'

"Certainly 'all things are possible to him that believeth' from his heart this wonderful coming of the life of God into our life. It seems as though there was no difficulty too great to be faced and overcome in the strength of that great conviction, and I pray for you, and the other members of the Community, that in the power of it they may be able to move forward continually into a higher, stronger, more united life."

A letter home.

"Fort Sandeman, Baluchistan: Sunday, Feb. 23, 1902.

"It is very unlikely that I shall ever address to you again from this out-of-the-way place. One would hardly get here twice in an Episcopate. But it is pleasant getting to these places once, and the people seem to like it very much and give me a most hearty welcome. This morning the whole community turned up to service, except two or three of the young officers, and I am assured they will be there this evening! There were twenty, and two or three children. After service a nice young officer came up to me and said rather sadly that he and one or two other young fellows had not liked to stop for the Celebration, as they were not confirmed, and believed they ought not to be present without that. I do so wish they had had a word with me before; I would most gladly have admitted them. In these sort of places, where religious ministrations are almost nil (the last clergyman's visit was in April last!), one has, I think, to be vague about rubrics. I ask little more than the desire for spiritual food and to be helped."

To the Rev. C. A. Gillmore, on Confession.

"Bishopscourne, Lahore: May 7, 1906.

"The position you indicate in the matter of Confession is exactly my own. I do not believe that it is the intention of the Church of England that it should be habitual, and in the case of any who came regularly under my influence or within the sphere of my teaching, I should discourage such habitual use! On the other hand, the Prayer-book direction is far from precise, and may be taken by different people in considerably varying senses, and as I know that many of our best and holiest men at home do now encourage a more or less regular use, I do not feel able to refuse those who ask this ministry of me, who are accustomed to it, and believe they get help from it. As to hints of a practical kind, I fear I can give you very few. I have tried to study the subject a little, and *inter alia* have got a somewhat large book by Dr. Pusey, 'Advice as to Hearing of Confessions.' It ought to be just what one wants, but somehow I did not get much from it myself. I can send it you if you would care to see it. I have never received any definite instructions on the subject, and as I do not use Confession myself I do not know how other priests do in detail. If, therefore, I tell you how I manage you will understand that I claim no authority whatever for it.

"I need not say that I hear Confessions only in church. I think you saw at Quetta how I had a chair put for myself. That arrangement or any similar one is, I think, convenient. I believe a priest ought to be habited in cassock, surplice, and stole.

"I kneel down, and after a moment of private prayer say the Versicles, Lord's Prayer, and Collect for Purity from Holy Communion Office.

"Then I resume my chair, and the person makes his confession. I give such counsel as I can; I attach as much importance myself to this counsel as to any part of this ministry. Of course, one does often get a look into the inner workings of the life which is not at other times easily got, and we may be able to give real help. I think the chief thing is to be quite natural. Give counsel just as you would if any one came to you in your study and asked for help. Then I try to name something in the way of Penance. This I rarely do with much satisfaction to myself. Not infrequently I take a psalm—appropriate to what has seemed on the whole the person's leading weakness—and ask them to learn it by heart and use daily for a month, or the like. If you can get other advice on this point I strongly advise you to do so.

"I then kneel and say (omitting from 'preserve' to 'expedient for him') the prayer which follows Absolution in Visitation of the Sick, then rise and give the Absolution, and conclude perhaps with another Collect and the Benediction, as given in that Service, or in some other form.

"Let me know if I can give you any further help."

"The Virgin Birth," written to a friend.

"First, I assume that you do not raise the question as to God's power to call into life a child in the mother's womb without the intervention of a man. In the Creed we speak of the Holy Ghost as distinctly the 'Lord and Life giver,' and any view which can be taken of God, if it is not to reduce Him to a cipher, recognises that the mystery and the gift of life proceeds only from Him, and can be produced with or without intermediate means, or human intervention of any kind whatever. I do not doubt that you recognise this, and that your difficulty is as to the suitability of God's acting in such a way. Still, it is just as well to be perfectly clear on the first point, for I very often find that at the back of objections to some particular miracle (the Resurrection, the Raising of Lazarus, etc., etc.) lies an *à priori* view of the

impossibility of miracles in themselves, which really makes all discussion of the particular miracle impossible and useless.

"I imagine your feelings to be that this method of introducing a life into the world would be open to endless misconceptions, and therefore it is impossible that God would or did have resort to it.

"Second, to settle this point, let us clearly understand the purpose for which Christ came into the world. Not merely, or chiefly, to be a perfect example of a merely human life, but to introduce a definitely fresh power into the world, to make a fresh start of humanity. For this purpose we believe, not that a pure child was born of human parents in the ordinary way, but that the Eternal Word (or Son) of God took human nature upon Him. (See St. John i. 1-18.) Here I would say, if you do not accept this, if you do not believe in the Incarnation as a real coming into the world in some—however mysterious—sense of God, please tell me, for the idea of the Virgin Birth is perfectly unintelligible on any other basis.

"But supposing we do hold this belief, viz. that this Life was to come into the world—a truly human life—and yet effecting a really fresh start by cutting off the evil entail of sin, that taint which so rests on every human life born in the ordinary way into the world, does it not seem as though the Birth from a Virgin, the life being quickened in the womb by a direct exercise of Divine power (Luke i. 35), exactly meets this position? The fact that the Child so born was the child of a real human mother secures that He was of true human nature, while the fact that He was so born without the intervention of a man, by the direct exercise of Divine power, seems to express the cutting off of the evil entail of sin, or the making of a fresh start for the human race in about the most intelligible way possible.

"So, at least, it seems to me.

"Thirdly, you say the story thus told must give rise to countless misunderstandings and unpleasant thoughts. Is not the following fact a proof that such a statement is wholly false? Nothing in the history of Christianity is more certain than that one of its most conspicuous achievements has been the raising, in a quite immeasurable degree:

"(a) Of the whole position of women, conferring on them an honour and dignity which they still wholly lack in unchristian countries;

"(b) As a consequence of this, of the whole tone and sanctity of family life; and

"(c) Of the standard of purity of life in individuals and communities.

"This is not any question of doctrine or Christian belief. All historians, those who are not themselves Christians, as well as those who are, recognise as a simple historical fact that this has been one of the chief achievements of Christianity. But is it conceivable that the religion would have had this enormous power, have produced this splendid result, if, at the heart of it, lay a story which involved, or even in the remotest degree suggested, the dishonour of a woman?

"I am absolutely certain that any one who thinks quietly and calmly of the matter will answer that question with an emphatic negative. But that means that the story as it stands in our Bible does not in itself convey in the slightest any such misapprehension as that you speak of, however much it may have been suggested to you and many others in this twentieth century by those who, as I believe, emphatically do not approach the question with minds to which all things are pure, and to whom in their dealing with this question I think the best answer is, 'Honi soit qui mal y pense.'

"I am myself convinced that this very thought, as it comes before us in the New Testament, of a virgin womb being an intensely pure thing, meet for and capable of being touched into life by God Himself, and of the birth of a child also being in itself an absolutely and supremely pure process, has acted most powerfully against all those lower and baser instincts and thoughts which it is so terribly easy for the human mind to associate with those processes, and has acted with irrepressible power in the direction of purity in all directions.

"But just one other thought. Are you quite clear and firm as to our Lord's Resurrection from the dead? And if so, does it seem to you *à priori* likely that a life which was so wholly unlike every other human life, both in its course on earth, and also in its way of passing from the earth (the Resurrection and Ascension), yet was brought into the world merely by the laws and processes which govern every other human life? To me it seems almost a logical demand that a life so wholly unique in its course and in its ending (so far as one can speak of an ending) should be also unique in its commencement."

CO-OPERATION IN RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION WITH
OTHER DENOMINATIONS

The following correspondence is of real importance in presenting clearly Bishop Lefroy's attitude towards co-operation with other Christian Missions in religious teaching. There has long been a Baptist Mission in Delhi, a noble Mission staffed by missionaries of the highest character, between whom and the members of our own Mission there has always been close friendship. Perhaps one may select Mr. Young of that Mission as the greatest and most valued friend, and with justice. Those who have had actual experience of Mission work in a non-Christian land will understand how warm such friendships may grow, and how great the desire to co-operate with men and women of such character who yet are not in communion with us. During 1911 supporters of the S.P.G. read in the *Delhi Mission Magazine* that the Baptist missionaries were assisting in religious instruction in the Cambridge-S.P.G. Delhi Missions, and also were taking a prominent part in the hostel arrangements connected with St. Stephen's College. Bishop Lefroy was in England at the time, and the S.P.G. Standing Committee placed the facts before him for his adjudication, the Bishop himself informing the S.P.G. that he had not been made aware of the steps that had been taken. In November, 1911, the Bishop arrived in Delhi, and in due time gave his decision. The Bishop's letter, given below, supplies information.

On January 13, 1912, Bishop Lefroy wrote to the Rev. S. S. Allnutt, head of the Delhi Mission. In this letter he says:

"I entirely endorse the widely held view that in many respects we in the Mission Field are more favourably situated for movement in this direction than the Church at home. It is no less obvious that very definite limits to such movement are imposed by two considerations, out of several that might be mentioned, viz. that we believe that the Church of England holds in trust, on behalf of the whole Church, certain very important sides of truth, which have been in considerable measure, or altogether, lost sight of by other

Protestant bodies, and that it is our bounden duty to maintain them intact, and also that we are only a part of a world-wide Communion, which has been called in God's Providence to a position of extraordinary influence and responsibility in the Christian Church, and that we must do nothing—for the sake of apparent gain in our own corner of the field—which would seriously imperil the unity of the Communion as a whole. As general principles these positions would, I suppose, be acquiesced in by all our men at Delhi, but I have to add that I think due respect has not been had to them in all the particular arrangements that have been effected in Delhi, in the department of work with which I am now dealing, during the last two or three years, and that in consequence a certain amount of modification of those arrangements is necessary. I have also to express the very strong sense which I entertain that it is unfortunate, and not in accordance with the best traditions of the Delhi Mission, that in dealing with a question avowedly of so much delicacy and difficulty, and before taking the steps referred to, much more definite recourse was not had to the Bishop of the Diocese, and his counsel and direction sought. I will deal now with the specific points that have been raised.

"The Christian Boys' Boarding House."—In connection with this, two points I believe came up. (1) The part taken in the everyday teaching of the school, including Scripture, by a Baptist master. This appears to me unsatisfactory, on grounds into which I will not now enter. The defence is, in large measure, that in any case the teaching of Scripture in this primary school is so exceedingly elementary, consisting for the most part simply of Bible stories, in connection with which difference of doctrinal teaching can scarcely emerge, that no harm is done by the fact that the teaching is given by a Baptist. The answer appears to me wholly inadequate, because I find it hard to understand why the standard of teaching should remain at such an exceedingly elementary level. It is not the case in the primary classes of our European schools out here, where, in addition to the Bible stories, parts of the Catechism are learnt by heart, as well as Collects, etc.; nor, I imagine, is it the case even in the lowest standards of any well-managed Church school at home. It seems to me, therefore, very desirable that there should be improvement in this respect, and I hope not to lose sight of the matter. At the same time I know quite well that there are various practical difficulties in the way of the improvement I desire, and that this may not come at once. As,

therefore, the presence of the Baptist teacher does not seem injurious on the basis of the teaching at present given in the school, and as to insist on his withdrawal would probably mean the break-up of the arrangement by which the boys of the two Missions are taught together—an arrangement in which I am sure there is much of gain—I do not press for such withdrawal at present, though I hope the considerations which I have urged in this connection will not be lost sight of by the member of the Mission in charge of the Boys' Hostel, and that, if opportunity should occur for improvement in the direction I desiderate, the presence of the Baptist may not be allowed to prevent it.

"2. *The weekly address.*—I am not perfectly certain of my facts—there was not, I think, entire agreement in the accounts given of them at our Delhi meeting—but I understand that a religious address is given weekly to the school, and this is taken, either alternately with our own men or at longer intervals, by a Baptist missionary, and that there is an understanding that, in view of the circumstances of the school, our men should not in this address base their teaching or their appeal on the fact of the Baptism of the children. If this is the case, I have to ask quite definitely that any such understanding should be explicitly repudiated, and that absolute freedom be reserved to our men to base, at all times, their teaching on the fact that in Baptism the boys of our Mission whom they address have been made 'Members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven.' I will say nothing in support of this request, for its reasonableness seems to me obvious. The fact that you have yourself stated, to me and to others, the difficulty and constraint under which you were conscious of labouring when taking one of these addresses, owing to the existence of this understanding, is ample evidence for my purpose.

"It would scarcely be fair to the Baptist missionaries, or to the boys whom they send to our school, many of whom, I presume, are unbaptised, to ask them to be present when teaching of the kind I have indicated is given, so it will be best for these weekly addresses to the whole school to be discontinued altogether. If it is thought desirable, arrangements can easily be made by which an address of the same kind can be given to our own boys once a week just before the regular school hours, or at some other time of the day; but this is a detail the arrangement of which I leave in the hands of the superintendent of the school.

" *The College*.—Here, also, I think two points come up.

" 1. The relation to the College of the Hostel originally financed, I believe, by Sharp, and now by the Baptists. To that relation as defined, or implied, in some passages of the Mission Report for 1910 very legitimate objection might be taken. I understand, however, that that position no longer obtains, but that the Baptists have taken over entire control of the Hostel, subject only to such supervision on the part of the Principal as is required by the University Statutes, and that it is a purely Baptist Mission venture, and not in any way an integral part of the organisation of our own College. To this position, of course, no objection can possibly be taken; on the contrary, a cordial welcome can be given to such a Hostel. It is, however, important that in future Reports this position should be made quite clear, and no language employed with regard to this Hostel which could confuse the minds of our friends and supporters at home as to the position which it actually occupies.

" 2. Mr. —'s position as Scripture teacher in the College. Very real, and to me at least, very obvious difficulties attach to this position. I stated these in detail in our meeting at Delhi, and I will not now repeat them. I have, however, come quite definitely to the opinion that, in spite of those difficulties, and having regard to all the circumstances of the College, and of our own staff at the present time, it would not be right to ask that such teachings should cease. Those who stand closest to Mr. — feel most strongly as to the great gain of the personal influence which he exercises in the College on behalf of Christianity, and of the depth and power of his Scripture teaching, while they are also perfectly certain that he scrupulously keeps clear of any ground that might in any way conflict with the teaching of our Church on Baptism, or on other points which may be involved in questions between his body and our own. It seems certain also that, at present, if Mr. — were to be asked to resign, his place could not be taken in a remotely adequate degree by any member of our own staff. That this should be the case is to me very lamentable. The College is a quite definitely Church of England institution, not an undenominational or an interdenominational one, and this being so it is quite certain that normally its Scripture teachers should be members of our Church. For the present, however, on the grounds I have briefly indicated, I am content to waive this, and to welcome the very valuable help which I believe Mr. — to be giving. At the same time it should be

clearly recognised that I, as Bishop, to say nothing of our committee and other supporters at home, view the position as by no means altogether satisfactory, and that the consent I give to its continuance is meant to apply simply to Mr. — himself, and in the position which he at present occupies. In the event of his withdrawing from the work, either temporarily or permanently, no other Baptist should be introduced in his place without specific reference being made on the point to the Bishop of the Diocese. I myself, if Bishop at such time as such reference might be made, should probably not settle the matter simply by my own authority, but would consult the Cambridge Committee upon it. Care should also be taken that Mr. —'s present sphere of work in the College should not be extended, or his status in it be in any way made firmer, without reference to the Bishop.

"I do not think I need say more. I have not referred to the question of how far it is necessary that you should communicate to the Baptist missionaries any portion of this letter, or of the difficulties that have been felt in various quarters with regard to the questions with which it deals. On one point, indeed, some communication seems imperative, viz. as to my request that the joint weekly addresses should cease. This, I think, it will be best for you to convey to them as from me. But for the rest I leave it entirely to your discretion to communicate with them on the general question with which I have dealt in this letter, or to say nothing further to them about it. May the Holy Spirit of unity, counsel, and ghostly strength be with all of us in dealing with this large and difficult question, and guide all our endeavours to the promotion of the glory of God and the attainment of our Blessed Saviour's prayer for the Unity of His Church.

"Your's affectionately,
"G. A. LAHORE."

The Bishop's decision was, of course, loyally accepted.

THE CHANGE OF THE CAPITAL FROM CALCUTTA TO DELHI

It is needless to say that so momentous a step as that taken by the King-Emperor at the great Delhi Durbar seriously occupied the attention of Lefroy, more especially as the change coincided with his departure from the Punjab to become Metropolitan. Evidently the Bishop wrote to Allnutt on the subject, and the following letter is of value.

From Canon Alhutt.

"S.P.G. and Cambridge Mission, Delhi : Jan. 23, 1912.

"MY DEAR BISHOP,

"I have little, I fear, if anything to suggest in regard to the possible ecclesiastical changes that may be thought of, or dreamed of, as opportune in view of the one momentous change in the political development of the country. One sees from the trend of Andrews' bold programme how easy it is to exaggerate the significance of the latter, as if it meant a bouleversement of the whole Government of India, whereas the change of capital will not, so far as I can foresee, be likely to produce in the immediate future, at any rate, any far-reaching results as affecting the whole of India. It will affect Calcutta for a time, but as is already seen that city has potentialities of its own that will enable it before so very long to recover from the loss now involved (as the King told them there), and pursue its course of development perhaps in some ways more successfully than when it was to a great extent overshadowed by the Government of India, which did not after all really belong to it. It will affect Delhi in ways we cannot at all now discern the extent or significance of. Hence I cannot, myself, admit that the occasion demands any such colossal scheme as that propounded by C. F. A. (though it is always a gain to have a man who can weave such schemes as easily as a spider does its web). I should say the Bishops' conference will be well advised to confine itself to the smaller but enormously important and difficult enough problem of how to deal with the new situation created by the Durbar announcement. That problem presents itself to me thus : is it not desirable that the Metropolitan See of India should be so far as possible non-territorial, so that its occupant should be in the main devoted to the government and development of the Church of India as a whole ? On the other hand, it would, I believe, be contrary to the true ideal of the episcopate that he should have little or no pastoral cure of souls—a Bishop is always in his essential idea, I should suppose, a Chief Pastor. Hence the principality of Delhi (if this is to be the political peculium of the Government of India) would not seem to offer a sphere of spiritual pastorship for an Archbishop. Could it, therefore, be enlarged by incorporating the Western Section of the Lucknow Diocese, including, say, Agra and Meerut, and the adjacent parts of the United Provinces ? The aim would be still to make it quite a small and easily

manageable diocese, so that the Metropolitan would have leisure to devote to what would be recognised as the equally, if not most, important part of his sphere of duties, those, viz., of Metropolitan as distinct from ordinary episcopal duties. If the result of your deliberation at Calcutta is the inception of a Synod for all India, that, however small and comparatively limited its operations would be in its initial stages, would be the nucleus of what would be in time, as a Provincial Synod when the Church is free and self-governing, the centre of the Church life of India, and it would require for its development all the energies and abilities of the Metropolitan, together with regular and extensive tours over the whole Province during the cold weather each year.

"I only just adumbrate the idea. It may be there are decisive objections, but it would not be liable to the Bishop of Bombay's criticisms in para. 12. It is, I suppose, more or less what Andrews proposes in his (5). But the M. would still be a Bishop in the full sense of the word, and his authority would not be in essence different from what it is now: only that he would be able to make a reality of what is now, and I suppose always has been (except, perhaps, in Bishop Cotton's time), mainly a nominal jurisdiction.

"Bomford's suggestion reminds me of one I long ago made to Bishop Matthew when he told me what difficulty he had in supplying Simla with a really A1 man. I said that as Simla draws Government officials of the highest ability from all parts of India, it ought surely to be allowed that the ablest Chaplain in the whole of the Province should be chosen as its Pastor. I cannot recall what objection he raised to it, but clearly it has not commended itself hitherto to any occupant of the See. I still, however, incline to think that it is a possible way out of the difficulty, which I know you have still to face again and again—that the Lahore Diocese often does not provide a really capable man for that important cure. Now, though I agree with the Bishop of Bombay that Bomford's suggestion of calling out a Chaplain *ad hoc* from home for Simla is open to obvious objection, I nevertheless think my modification of it is worth considering.

"I would, in view of the longer residence of the Government of India in its cold weather capital, suggest further whether the Chaplain of Delhi on the cathedral staff should not go to Simla with the Government of India, a junior Chaplain in each place being left to take charge of the parish, during the absence of the Government. I suppose the circumstances are quite unique in their way, and need special

procedure to cope with the situation brought about by the dual residence of the Government. Such Chaplain would still, in my view, be selected by the Metropolitan from the whole Province, and not from a single Diocese.

"I see, of course, how difficult, perhaps insuperably so, such a project must be. But you invite suggestions, so I have ventured to put down the very attenuated ones that occur to me. We are all praying earnestly that the Spirit of Wisdom and Judgment may be vouched to our Fathers in God in their very important and critical conference next month.

"Ever your affectionately,
"S. S. ALLNUTT."

In 1911 Bishop Lefroy began to take seriously his growing physical weakness, a tragic complaint for one whose greatest pleasure consisted in long walks. He was suffering from arthritis in the hip joints. He came home, consulted the experts, and went to Aix-les-Bains, but with no permanent results. In November of that year he was again in the Punjab, but for the rest of his life he was frequently in pain. Movement was often physical anguish, yet he was informed that he must keep the joints exercised if he was not to become a confirmed invalid. All who read of the rest of his life work must bear in mind under what conditions he did it. Never was there a more gallant fight, never a more cheery spirit up to the end.

HOLIDAYS AT HOME

I here insert the story in outline of George Lefroy's home-life during his furloughs, written by his brother, the Rev. Frederick Lefroy.

"My sister and I feel it both a privilege and pleasure to be allowed to contribute some very brief account of some of these his home activities.

"Even before his ordination my brother and I, with knapsacks on our backs, had enjoyed walks both in the extreme north of Ireland and in Switzerland, but it was in 1879, between the time of his ordination and his start for India, that we undertook the first of these excursions that may be worth mentioning here. In July, Oswald Browne, a Cambridge friend (afterwards a well-known and much-loved

London physician), George, and I spent some weeks in the fascinating Dolomite country. At Cortina we met F. M. Balfour, younger brother of the Right Hon. A. Balfour, holding then, I think, a Research Fellowship at Cambridge, and together they took some walks, including the ascent of the Marmolato.

"Thence we made our way to Pontresina, and I have a vivid recollection of his lying at full length on his back on the summit of the Pitz Languard, on a perfect summer morning, and reading to me the Hymn for the 9th Sunday after Trinity from the 'Christian Year.'

"It was in 1886, shortly after our father's death, that he took his first furlough, after seven years of such life in Delhi as has been described, and spent a few months with relations and friends in England and Ireland, delighting them, as he always did, both by his enthusiasm for his Delhi work and by his schoolboy enjoyment of a well-earned but too short holiday. *

"His next home visit was in 1889, and during that summer, speaking both at Killiney, in Dublin, Bristol, and probably in other places, he began to show that remarkable power of inspiring enthusiasm for the cause of overseas missions which steadily increased during all the later years of his life.

"In 1896 he was obliged to take the long rest to which allusion has already been made, but we have knowledge of certain missionary organisations in Ireland which came into being under his influence, and are still giving valuable help to the Delhi Mission.

"In 1899, after his appointment to the Bishopric of Lahore, in 1904, and in 1908 there were again home visits marked by the same fruitful activities; but it would give a very imperfect idea of the delight which these visits gave to all who knew and loved him if the impression were given that missionary sermons and addresses absorbed the greater part of his time. He enjoyed to the full and caused others to enjoy every hour of his holidays; and whether it was excursions in Scotland or Norway, or amidst the choicest scenery of the Island of Saints, if he could only secure the companionship, as he generally did, of some of his younger friends or relations, it would be difficult to exaggerate the bubbling over of his boyish spirits, the infection of his delicious laughter, or the delight which all the young ones took in his society.

"In 1908, after the Pan-Anglican Conference, our cousin,

Bernard Wilson, then Vicar of Portsea, accompanied us to the Austrian Tyrol, where we did a little climbing, and finished up at Arolla, where on one, to me memorable, occasion B. Wilson and the Bishop, climbing under the guidance of a mountaineering friend, were overtaken by darkness, and only got home, with the help of a small search-party, at 1.30 a.m. This was probably the last occasion on which he was able to do long walks unhampered by approaching infirmities.

"I cannot close this necessarily most imperfect account of some of the happiest days that we ever spent together without mentioning his last home furlough in 1914. He had intended, after his time at Aix-les-Bains, to spend a short time in Switzerland, but the sudden declaration of war caused him to hurry home, and to our great delight he spent nearly a month with us at Ilkley, in Yorkshire. In spite of decided lameness he walked nearly every morning to the higher parts of the moor, and there, sitting surrounded by a sea of heather and the loud calling of the grouse, he read to me in the *Times* of the first terrible advance of the Germans on Paris, only checked by the battle of the Marne. No need to say that his absolute confidence in the final victory of Right never failed for an instant. He greatly valued the daily Celebrations at St. Margaret's, where he was delighted to find in the vicar an old Marlborough friend, and where we listened with great interest and appreciation to several sermons by Dr. McNeile (now Regius Professor of Divinity in Trinity College, Dublin), and he once or twice gave addresses to communicants. It was, I think, a special pleasure to him that a young Indian friend, studying for his degree at Leeds University, came and spent several days with us. In spite of suffering at times and the dark overhanging war-cloud, his buoyancy of spirits and his delight in the companionship of his young nieces never failed.

"I saw him for the last time when he left us to spend the closing days of his furlough with my sisters in Ireland, and I shall always look back to that time at Ilkley as one of the very happiest of our many happy holidays together."

CALCUTTA

In 1912, the Metropolitan, Bishop Copleston, resigned his office, and most men felt that Lefroy must succeed him if he were physically able. The Government as well as the Church looked to the Bishop of Lahore to take the leading

place. There is the oft-quoted letter of Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India, to Lord Minto, the Viceroy, which gives the impression Lefroy produced upon the leaders :

"Yesterday the Bishop of Lahore (Lefroy) called—one of the most attractive men I ever met. In the midst of a rather heavy day he not only interested but excited me, and carried me for a while into the upper ether. Why did you not recommend him to be Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb? There's an experiment for you! His ideas delighted me."

I print a few letters written in 1912.

"Bishopsbourne, Lahore : March 28, 1912.

"I spent the Sunday in a large Christian village. The congregation was reported to me—with much exactitude, men, women and children, separately—as 1400: there may have been from 900 to 1000 there. Things had been going very badly for some time, with internal quarrels, law suits, etc., and I spoke with a plainness not very customary in the pulpit, saying that I much hoped four or five would be in jail before long, or have their tails really well and effectively twisted in some way, and that they had all 'made my face black.' I was able, however, to add that I was thankful to hear that recently there has been some attempt at improvement, and I made a heart-rending appeal to them to keep it up. After the service a deputation of the head men (not including those I had referred to as destined for the Government hospitality—the individuals intended were quite well known) waited on me, said they had been greatly helped and encouraged by my sermon, and wanted to thank me for it. So perhaps one has found the line to take in order to really win attention, and get some thoughts to penetrate. Perhaps it will be well not to encourage the cathedral congregation quite the same way!"

The following letter reveals the ever-present humour, the delightful appreciation of jokes, and the light-hearted manner in which Lefroy could throw off work and enjoy fun.

"Harvington, Simla : August 1, 1912.

"Irishman goes into a boot shop in London. 'I want a pair of boots.' 'Certainly, sir. What number, sir?' 'Ah *two* to be sure. D'y'e think I'm a centipaed.'

"'Pat, go down and bring up a pair of boots.' 'Which pair, your honour?' 'Ah, it doesn't matter, either pair will do.' Up comes Pat with one lace boot and one button and

puts them down. 'Pat, you donkey, what on earth do you mean by bringing me up these—did you ever see a pair of boots looking like that before?' 'Deed, I did, your honour: the pair downstairs looks just the same.'

"'Mary, did you put the matches by my bed, as I told you?' 'I did, mam, I put wan.' 'One, Mary: what's the good of that? I may want more, or it may not strike.' 'Ah, it will, mam: I tried it meself.' With such tales, and dozens more—all in the broadest Irish—were members of a learned Educational Conference summoned from all over India by the Government of India, to consider problems connected with the education of the 'Domiciled Community' (Anglican, poor whites and Eurasians), regaled during a semi-state dinner given to the members, by H. Pakenham Walsh—a very devoted missionary—till half of them were nearer rolling off their chairs with laughter than being in a fit state to eat their dinner. And the best of it was that Lady Butler—wife of Member for Education, our host—whom I had taken in had said to me just before, referring to H. P. W., who sat opposite us with a rather cadaverous face, 'I have heard that he is a most ascetic man,' and altogether spoke of him in a rather awed voice, then within about ten minutes these stories began, and before the evening was over I think she felt a good deal mixed about her ascetic, and not quite able to 'place him.'"

The project of an Anglican cathedral upon the site of New Delhi was much in Lefroy's thoughts. At present, though the site is secure, no further step has been taken.

"Harvington, Simla: June 13, 1912.

"I am tackling a great big problem—that of a church, or cathedral, in New Delhi. I am in an extraordinarily difficult position over it. Everybody—Viceroy, Lieutenant-Governor, Town-planning Committee, as well as the general public—seem to be looking to me to take the lead in the matter, but, as I point out to them—for one thing—if it is because Delhi is in the Lahore Diocese, then I certainly cannot ask for a cathedral (which every one in a kind of way thinks it ought to be) as no Bishop has two cathedrals: if it is to be a cathedral that means that a new See is to be created, in which case the matter no longer concerns me. Meantime it seems impossible to get forwarder in deciding whether there should be a new See or not. Calcutta won't move in the matter; and there is no one else who can move. And things

being thus, the Town-planning Committee ask me to meet them, show me a splendid site which they say they are willing and would like to reserve for a fine cathedral or church if I can guarantee that money will be forthcoming for the building of something really worthy; failing which something totally different—theatre for ought I know!—will be put there. *And* they say they must have an answer in six months' time or so, as the plans for the city must go forward! A pleasant predicament! At first I thought I simply could do nothing, but I am coming to feel that for the honour of the Church—and not to lose so splendid an opportunity—if no one else will move in the matter I must, and as the only possible path of success that I can see, I am drafting a letter for the *Times*, meaning to send it first to the Archbishop of Canterbury and ask him to take it to the King and get, if possible, both a donation to head the list and some kind of imprimatur that can be printed. I am asking for £100,000! First of all, I shall have to secure that Calcutta will not actually oppose—I don't think he will—and then go to the Viceroy and see what he would suggest as to details. Altogether it's a pretty big kettle-of-fish and gives one something to think of, as you may imagine. Don't talk much of this at present—my letter may be much modified before it goes off, and may possibly never come to the birth at all, but that's what I am working for at present simply because, as I say, I see no other possible way in which I can prevent the offer of the site slipping from us."

We all remember the attempted assassination of the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, at his entrance into Delhi, and the splendid courage of himself and Lady Hardinge.

"Bishopsbourne, Lahore: Christmas Eve, 1912.

"As to yesterday's tragic occurrence. There is no good trying to write about it. I have nothing really to add to what you will know long before this. I am so intensely grieved that it was done in dear old Delhi, though doubtless the miscreant was from outside. I fear the wound is really serious. Last night we got quite a bad report, but I am somewhat reassured by a note I have just had. I was to have lunched with H. E. to-day to talk over matters connected with Lahore and Calcutta and my successor, etc. This morning I sent a line to the Private Sec. saying it was doubtless off, and have this moment had a reply that *Her E.* would like me still to come. I do not for a moment imagine this means that he can talk business, but I hope it does

mean that things are not very bad. I will add a line. It will be pretty difficult to know what line to take in preaching to-morrow—the Christmas Message and our grief—joy at escape—anxiety still. . . . I hope something may be given me.

"I had a wonderfully interesting luncheon, Lady Hardinge telling me every incident and every word that passed between them; then we went into his bedroom, and I offered thanks. To-day she came to service, and I preached on it, exhorting the English not to exaggerate or think it represented Indian attitude, and on Xmas. I had a nice wire from home some days ago. 'Thanksgiving, Benediction. Cantuar.'

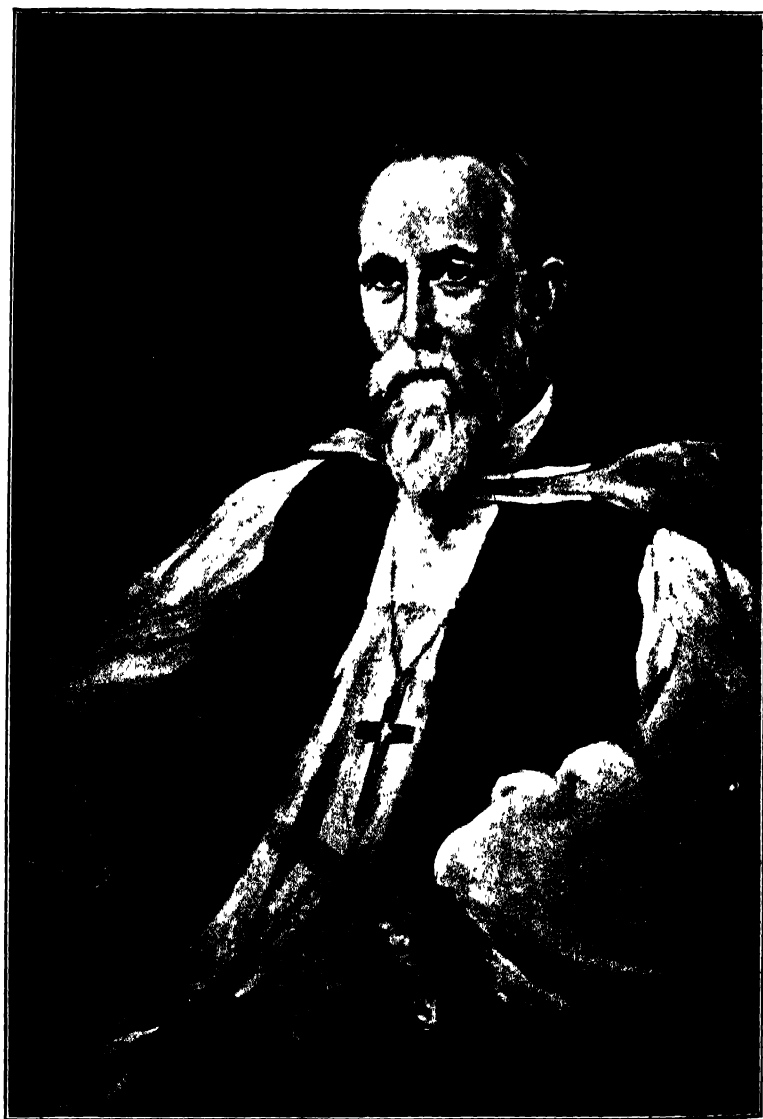
"Off to Calcutta to-night."

His letter on accepting Calcutta.

"Bishopscourne, Lahore: Dec. 12, 1912.

"The long debated issue has come at last. On Tuesday I got back at five o'clock from an all-day conference, took up the paper in the verandah and read the announcement of the Metropolitan's resignation, came into my study and found a letter from the Viceroy offering me the succession. They don't lose much time nowadays. I wired, asking for a few days' delay in order to take medical advice, and a board of three doctors is coming here in about an hour's time to advise me. I think it unlikely, on the facts I shall put before them, that they will at all bar my going, and if not I shall just let three more days pass and wire on Monday; or probably, unless the doctors are very encouraging, not wire, but write to say I should like Lord Crewe to know, before the thing is finally settled, of this element of uncertainty, but otherwise accepting. I have hardly argued it with myself at all, but I have asked much for guidance, and as soon as the offer came I found my thoughts acting steadily in the direction of going, and I have felt quite happy about it at Celebrations and such times, so I think this is what is meant for me. *You* know as well as any one what a wrench it will be to me to leave the Punjab, but the call is a great one; these next five years ought to be very formative ones in the life of the Church out here, and if it really is God's will—as it certainly seems to be the wish of a good many people—that I should be at the helm for them, one has no right to refuse even if one wanted to. I will put in a line, if there is time, as to the M.D.'s opinion before this goes.

"6.30 p.m. They have come and gone, after talking me well over for an hour. On the whole, the view is that Calcutta is likely to be *better* for me than Lahore. So I shall accept. May God enable me."



From the painting by Mr. C. Goldsborough Anderson

E. V. Rieu

CHAPTER XVII

THE CALCUTTA EPISCOPATE

BISHOP LEFROY was enthroned as Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan on Feb. 20, 1913, in his cathedral. A few days previously he had received an address at Delhi from old students of St. Stephen's College. Two sentences must be quoted: "It seems to us quite in the fitness of things that with the rise of our city to a position of pre-eminence in India, one who in the past deservedly ranked among its most worthy citizens should be called to the headship of the Anglican Church in India. . . . We pray that God may give you grace to act not only as one of the peacemakers between the various races in this country, but also that through you the deepest and most wholesome influences of English life may flow into the life of India." The Bishop, in reply, said he stood absolutely and unhesitatingly for the policy of higher education in India. Ere he concluded he referred "to the foul deed of shame which had been committed not long ago in their midst." They hung their heads with shame, especially when they remembered how Lord Hardinge had identified himself with the policy of trusting the people. On leaving Lahore it had been determined that one of the towers of the cathedral just being built, should be given the name of "Lefroy," and that choir stalls should also be part of the memorial.

George Lefroy had now come to the third and last phase of his ministerial life. He came with a stricken body but with a spirit unconquered, a wonderful example of pluck, and all from a sense of Christian devotion. No letter of his has a querulous note. All the same it is possible to suppose that he might have done an even greater work than he actually

accomplished, good-as it was, had he been sound in limb. I think I will insert here an appreciation of him given in 1919 by one of his leading Calcutta clergy. Let it stand in the forefront as he enters Calcutta life.

"Oxford Mission House,
 "42, Cornwallis Street,
 "Calcutta :
 "May 13, 1919.

"If his physical strength had been equal to his endowment of mind and spirit he would have been almost an ideal bishop. His deep and earnest piety, his charming courtesy, and his great administrative ability combined to make him so, and he gave such a stimulus to the work of the diocese as, in my experience of nearly forty years, it has never known. He had width of outlook as well as careful attention to detail. He did not profess to be a student or a scholar, but with the greatest humility he would take the opinions of those who were. Perhaps he relied rather too much on external advice, but his decisions when they came were firm, definite and clear. He was a most indefatigable worker to the utmost limit of his strength and then beyond it, but he never allowed himself to become absorbed in routine, and with him the human element was always uppermost. I never once knew him the least bit ruffled in temper. More than once he had to meet attacks that were both violent and unfair, but he met them with complete serenity and robbed them of their sting by recognising the element—a very small one—of justice which they contained. He always saw the best in them, and by giving them full credit for it he lifted them up to higher levels. His chief work in this diocese was the care he took in preparing it for Synodical Government, a task which involved an immense amount of laborious detail. My chief regret is that he did not come to Calcutta in the fullness of his powers and give it three or four times the number of years which he was allowed to spend here. The position of a Metropolitan See is unfortunate in this way : it so often receives a bishop whose best work has been done elsewhere.

"E. F. B."

The transfer from Lahore to Calcutta was almost as great a change of sphere as for the Delhi evangelist to go to the See of the Punjab. Lahore was in a sense a new diocese, largely missionary. The overwhelming number of the European population consisted of the army. The Bishop there



CALCUTA CATHEDRAL.

had a very free hand creating precedents and realising his own ideals of work : traditions were few. Calcutta is much more like an English diocese in the sense that the Church system in it dates back to the eighteenth century, when there were Presidency Chaplains and State-aided Vestries, and long before Bishops were heard of ; there are numberless traditions and many vested interests. The chaplains are numerous, and one who was pre-eminently a missionary bishop with a strong character and a way of expressing precisely what he meant in unmistakable language might well create alarm among members accustomed to a more conservative Church life. There is no doubt, indeed, that the coming of Lefroy did create apprehension among a certain number, though it was short-lived. Looking back upon his coming and referring to the fear of some, another of his leading clergy, and one who was to become his right hand and a very dear colleague, says, "The hard George Alfred never came, but a great heart yearning for love and, I am afraid, rather too anxious to bestow that love on persons who would abuse it. We were prepared to receive 'a great administrator,' some one very efficient, who captured a Secretary of State, but instead came a man who, if great was perhaps the humblest and kindest person we had ever met with. To have seen the tears from those brilliant Irish eyes running down over the story of a priest's shame, and to know how little emotion was the note of his temperament, was indeed a memory. It was also found that no man was so ready to devolve responsibility upon others and then to leave them as free as possible, without interference. Not otherwise could he have accomplished a tithe of what he did."

But to return to the contrasted spheres of Lahore and Calcutta. The former city was one centre among many in the Punjab. The cathedral, so to speak, dominated nothing. The districts were as strongly manned and their representatives came almost as equals to the centre. The Diocese of Calcutta means the City of Calcutta, that is, the centre dominates everything, much as London stands out in Middlesex. Moreover, it is a city of old-established business firms with their centres very largely in London, conservative, largely Scotch Presbyterian. The tone of the

wealthy was undenominational in a sense ; generous, but in the direction of general beneficence, not yearning for very definite Churchmanship, and perhaps suspicious of a Bishop who was known to be striving for self-government, assessment for funds, and all by "consensual compact." But their new Metropolitan was so human a person, so full of fun in spite of his pain, so appreciative of others' opinions, that he conquered Calcutta.

One more point may be made at once. The duties of a Metropolitan had been growing continually. It had become increasingly difficult to visit the whole diocese. The position would have been overwhelming had not Bishop Copleston prepared the way, and most generously, for a Diocese of Assam. Of this I will speak again. But it was evident that another division must in due course be made, a diocese with Patna as its centre. Patna, an unequalled evangelistic centre, the Headquarters of a Provincial Government, a Civil Division, with a University and a High Court. The new Metropolitan saw Assam set on its way : he died before the Patna scheme took shape.

In 1914 the Metropolitan visited England. The following letter will show that he desired to use any means to regain physical strength. In Calcutta in due time, as will be seen, he submitted to "anointing" for healing.

" Trinity Lodge, Cambridge :

" St. Luke's Day, 1914.

" Do you remember Miss Hort writing and suggesting to me that I should go to Mr. Hickson, the Faith Healer ? I do not remember whether I said anything about it to you in Killiney, but the matter stayed in my mind, and after a good deal of thought and prayer I decided to go to him. I have been three times and hope to go twice more. I will try to tell you more about him and his methods some time. All I will say now is that he has a band of, I believe, really earnest and good people who make regular intercession for those who are being treated by him, and the desire to secure their help was one of the things that weighed much with me in deciding to go to him. That must be to the good, whatever other forms of treatment one may try."

He returned to India and on December 27 in that year with characteristic courage he faced the question of the

Christmas message in relation to Germany and the war, recognising no doubt that he would lay himself open to misconstruction at such a time. Controversy arose at once both in India and in England and in Belgium, and it is necessary to quote a few extracts from his sermons and letters in order to give his views. (December 27, 1914, in the cathedral.) He asks, "Is not this war evidencing the bankruptcy and failure of Christianity? . . . If Christianity has not been tried as the basis of international relationships, in what sense can it be said to have failed?" He criticises the Press. "I am bound to say, and I know that in saying it I express the feelings of many besides myself, that I deplore intensely much of the tone of our Press, more especially of the comic papers, in dealing with this great tragedy. Am I not right in saying that the attitude of the Press, broadly speaking, may be summed up as twofold, either breathing out simply a spirit of bitter vengeance, of desire for the uttermost defeat and humiliation to the dust of our enemies, or in the case of the comic papers, indulging continually in taunt, ridicule and sneer?" Then he speaks of the magnificent contribution Germany made (before she became infected by the deadly virus of philosophy and teaching, etc.) in every department of civilisation.

Then he guards himself. "To prevent the misunderstanding to which the preacher is constantly liable, I want just to say that there is not a man in this cathedral who believes more absolutely than I do myself that this fight must be fought through to a finish and that the terrible spirit of Prussian Militarism must be utterly broken. But what I ask is that we should remember that this is only one part of the process, a step towards the end, that end being the recovery of a true and lasting peace on the basis of rightful and mutually self-respecting international relationships."

Only extracts of the sermon were telegraphed home, and the Bishop writes, "I agree as to the unsatisfactoriness of the hostile criticism of my sermon which has appeared, but it needs to be remembered that, so far as I know, the whole sermon has not appeared anywhere at home, only that one extract: so that was all the critics had to go by."

On January 2, 1915, he returned to the subject on the "Day of Intercession." After referring to the difficulty of

praying for one's enemies, and while wishing to be fair to the enemy, he said, "It was of no use shutting their eyes to facts. They could only get a sane and balanced judgment in this matter by looking at the facts on all sides, the ugly as well as the pleasant. It was on account of that German teaching and of its effects that they were justified in saying that the issues involved were quite definitely moral, religious, and spiritual ones." In the same month the Bishop lectured to the public on "The Message of Christ to the Modern World." One extract is all I can give. "Can it be right, can it be Christ's will and teaching that man should fight? Most of them would answer the question in the negative. But was there anything He hated more than fighting? Was there anything more intolerable to Him than this resort to force? He believed there was, and illustrated his contention by drawing a picture of a big bully ill-treating a helpless child. Was force never justified?" In writing home he says, "I had to lecture on 'Christianity and the War' to a number of educated Hindus, and I felt the responsibility and difficulty very much. The terms are so incongruous, and the incongruity seems so much greater to them than to us. However, it went off well. There was a crowded hall, about 700 apparently, and they remained remarkably still and attentive while I talked for just about an hour."

In August, 1916, the Metropolitan preached in the cathedral on "The Forgiveness of Enemies." "I want to try to give guidance on one point, namely, the duty of forgiving our enemies and the injunction so often given in the words of Christ Himself to pray for them. I suppose there can be no question whatever that this duty presents to many people the greatest difficulty of all at the present time. In the service which was held in this church on the 4th instant, while the responses in most parts of the service were distinctly good, I could not help noticing a falling off at this point." He then refers to the Lord's Prayer, and to the warning, "if ye forgive not men their trespasses neither will your Father forgive your trespasses." "The fact that no such warning is attached to any of the other petitions shows not only how much importance He laid on this point, but also how conscious He was of the great difficulties men would find

in obeying the injunction. . . . It is, I know, often thought that when we urge the duty of forgiving the Germans we mean that as things are, the Germans still persisting in their hideous wickedness . . . men ought to ignore all this, to pretend that things are otherwise, and to say that they forgive them. . . . This you entirely refuse, and such refusal is entirely justified. . . . The point to get clear is that God's own forgiveness which is offered as the pattern of ours is never an unconditional forgiveness which takes effect irrespective of the moral condition of the offender, regardless of whether there is in him any real sorrow for his sin." He points out that the Absolution in the Prayer-book is for those "being penitent." But he also warns as follows : "If we do not desire to secure that change in the Germans which will make forgiveness possible, if we are not prepared to strive for this by whatever means may be in our power, prayer obviously being one of them, then we are cutting ourselves off from the possibility of Divine forgiveness and showing that there is not in us that temper upon which it can take effect."

In connection with the Metropolitan's attitude towards the war, two more facts must be mentioned. In September, 1916, he presided at the 81st commemoration of Founder's Day at La Martiniere's College and animadverted upon the fact that the Anglo-Indian (formerly called Eurasian) community in Calcutta had not been able to contribute 240 men to the Battalion specially to be recruited. "I know how much there is to be said in the matter by way of explaining the poor response. I mean that before the Battalion was sanctioned by the Government a large number of young men and boys of the community, probably in many cases the pick of it, had already volunteered. . . . But no one will question that it is rather in nature of an excuse for the response not having been what was hoped. It would be quite impossible to exaggerate the influence on the future of this country if the instant the fresh call had come its leaders had sprung up and said, 'At last our chance has come, the very chance we have always asked for, to prove our grit.'" It is interesting to know that one of the papers in Calcutta considered that the Bishop was hard upon the community ; that a good many had

offered but had been rejected from lack of stamina, but not of willingness.

Another public utterance was in regard to the War Loan. One of the Calcutta papers asked him for a message. He sent one, but writes in a letter, "I wonder whether you will think its sentiments quite in place for me." Those sentiments are very clear. "We all recognise the immensity of the issues . . . they are not in the deepest and truest sense material issues but spiritual ones, touching the very roots of human life and of all that makes life worth living. . . . Let there then at this time be no slackers, no shirkers, but let each one do his bit worthily for King and Country, for God and the Right."

BISHOP'S COLLEGE

Early in his Calcutta Episcopate the Metropolitan also faced the problem of Bishop's College. That famous college, perhaps the best endowed in India, founded in 1819, and magnificently placed, has been in the eyes of many in the past an inexplicable failure compared with the hopes entertained of its place in the Christian life of India. Nor can any blame be attached to any one in particular. Probably every Bishop of Calcutta has held some such view as I have expressed. In 1914 the new Metropolitan had interviews with the Committee of S.P.G. when he was at home, and found himself in agreement with the Society when he proposed drastic action, and an attempt to go back to the original intention of the College, making it a wholly Christian institution and for the purpose of giving advanced theological instruction in English to candidates for Holy Orders from all parts of India.

In order to effect this it was thought best to start afresh with an absolutely new staff, although this meant parting with one of the most respected and high-minded of Principals, the Rev. R. Gee, who was also the son-in-law of Bishop Copleston, the late Metropolitan. It was solely on the general principle to be adopted as wisest that Bishop Lefroy could bring himself to advocate such a step, not only in reference to his great friend the Principal, but also of the existing staff. A three years' course was adopted. The

Rev. Norman Tubbs, Principal of St. John's (C.M.S.) College, Agra, was made the first Principal under the new régime, and the Rev. R. L. Pelly, Vice-Principal. On July 17, 1917, the College reopened, after having been closed for a few months. It may also be mentioned that at one time it was even advocated that Bishop's College should be moved away from Calcutta altogether; the site sold, and a new building erected in some healthy and more retired spot, such, for example, as in the Diocese of Chota Nagpur. But wiser counsels prevailed, and the splendid, and now historic, site has been retained. The College opened with twenty students, who hailed from regions such as Burma, Tinnevely, Travancore, Madras, Chota Nagpur, Nagpur, Lucknow, and the Punjab, and soon included two Syrian Malabari Christians.

As with Bishop's College, so with the education and advancement of the Anglo-Indian community, Lefroy, in spite of growing physical infirmity, pressed on every endeavour made on behalf of a class which has of late years been neglected by the Church of England as compared with the efforts made for them by other denominations. The "Church Education League" received his warmest support in its endeavour to give a Church of England education to the Church of England children. A few figures will show how important the work of the League is, especially in connection with Anglo-Indians. The S.P.G. has always supported their claims at home, and of late years the Indian Church Aid Association, with Mr. H. Skipton as Secretary, has been foremost in publishing facts and soliciting and obtaining help.

The following figures refer to Bengal alone. The Roman Church has of late years been prominent in this educational field, and in 1912 there were in their Bengal schools for Europeans and Anglo-Indians, 4852 pupils; in Anglican schools, 1412; in other schools, 2630. In the report of Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley of the Census of the city in Calcutta, he says, "The term Anglo-Indian is used under the orders of the Government of India for those persons of mixed descent who have hitherto been designated Eurasians. Among them the representation of the Church of England and of the Church of Rome is exactly the reverse of what it is among the Europeans: for 8350 Anglo-Indians (or nearly two-thirds) are Roman

Catholics, while 4791 (or one-third) are Anglicans." But the next paragraph is worthy of the sympathetic attention of Churchmen who shrink from the stigma that the Church of England is careless of her own members. Mr. O'Malley says, "The figures (given above) are very different from those returned in 1901. The Roman Catholics (in 1911) being more numerous by 1240, while the Anglicans have sustained a loss of 1229." The figures give good reason for the belief that the Church of Rome is steadily gaining ground, whereas the Church of England is losing its hold on the domiciled community. Proportionately the number belonging to the Church of Rome has increased by 17 per cent., while the Church of England has lost 20 per cent. Only 1036 belong to other denominations. Whilst 44·7 per cent. of the European and Eurasian population belong to the Church of England, only 15·8 per cent. of the children are in Anglican schools. The S.P.G. and the Indian Church Aid Association have requested the Indian Bishops to place before them a scheme which may cover India, and one of the last letters Lefroy ever wrote to Bishop Montgomery as Secretary of the S.P.G. is an answer to that request, as follows :—

"The Palace, Calcutta : September 1, 1916.

"MY DEAR BISHOP,

"Thank you very much indeed for your letter of July 21, *re* the Anglo-Indian community. It is splendid and stimulating to a degree to see that even in days like these, and in spite of the distinctly discouraging way, to say the least of it, in which earlier communications on the subject have been met, the old Society can return to the charge with such keenness and hopefulness. It is a lesson for all of us and will not, I hope and believe, be lost. I have circulated copies of your letter and the papers you sent, to all the Bishops, as well as to some chaplains and good education-alists in this Diocese, asking them for practical suggestions, and I think I can at any rate promise that your offer will not be ignored this time, but that a genuine effort will be made to deal with the question in a spirit like your own. I need not assure you that the problem has been constantly engaging, for years past, many of the best wits out here, and no at all adequate remedy for the difficulties at present besetting the community has been found, though you must not for a

moment think that by this I mean that nothing whatever is being done. More than one genuinely successful attempt to improve matters at one point or another is being made, though I have not time to speak of them now. I have little doubt myself that P. strikes the right note when he suggests a Teaching Brotherhood as the most urgent need of all, and I quite believe there would be a general concurrence of experts in this view, but then we are at once faced with the fact that at the present time men are above all else difficult to come by.

“We will, however, not fail to seek the guidance and strength which are available and sufficient for every need.”

CHAPTER XVIII

THE METROPOLITAN IN CALCUTTA AND ON TOUR

I PROPOSE to devote a chapter specially to tours during the years from 1913 to 1917. Lefroy was never out of pain, but he does not refer to bodily infirmities, and his buoyant spirit carried him through years of suffering. There is no sign of weakening in his public addresses. Moreover, in private life he was ever delightful company, as the memories of a relative which I have printed will prove.

"Calcutta : Dec. 31, 1912.

"You and Mary will be amused by my first acts in connection with my new office—the purchase of a motor-car and a billiard-table. The first I am getting not merely for purposes of locomotion. There is a great stirring community here, chiefly commercial, full of life. I want the car to typify that my wish is to come among them as one of themselves, entering in to the full tide of life and being, so to speak, up to date. Also I think driving it may prove a help in taking my mind off work when recreation is not as easy as it used to be. The billiard-table is on behalf largely of the same community. I am told there are many young fellows—thoroughly nice, often Public School and University men—but there are few who much try to get a hold of or help them, and for such I should very much like the house to become a place of general resort. Much will have to be changed ; at present it is in appearance, not in reality, decidedly palatial and unapproachable : *e.g.* a gong at the entrance is struck once for every foot-caller, twice for a carriage, three times for the doctor, four times for the Viceroy. Think of the feelings of some shy lad of the type I mean ! Few things, I expect, would attract them more than a billiard-table."

His last days in the Lahore Diocese.

"Palace, Calcutta: Feb. 20, 1913.

"I do feel as never before the mistake I made in not securing a wife before I entered on the event of the last few days! Only in that way would there have been any reasonable chance of your being kept properly *au courant*. As to my going into it all! The Delhi days were very full, and if Lahore didn't do much for me in the way of presentations and the like, my old home made up for it. I enclose a cutting with an account of the chief one. It was very nice. On Sunday I had the Ordination, and immediately after it a nicely illuminated Urdu address was presented on behalf of the congregation, and another on behalf of the Christian students of the College, the latter giving me with it a handsomely bound Bible in Bengali with suitable inscription. I promised to do my best to acquire the ability to use it. I really am going to have a solid shot at the language—though whether I shall find that I have got past the power of learning it to any good purpose remains to be seen. In connection with the main College presentation I ought to have said that the address is enclosed in a really beautiful ivory casket, with a lot of medallions on it—those Delhi paintings in ivory—of Taj, Jama Musjid, etc., etc. Sunday evening I went to Holy Trinity Church, and there my quite last act of ministry in the diocese was amongst the old Daryagang folk—not a few of whom were there in person—and their compeers, amongst whom my chief ministry in Delhi lay for so long. It was very happy. That night at 1 a.m. I left for Calcutta, and you will believe that my heart was pretty full as we ran over the Jumna bridge and I felt the old diocese and the old life in the Punjáb were behind me. . . .

"I dreaded the first address in Calcutta a good deal, as on both the previous occasions that I have occupied this pulpit I have been thoroughly uncomfortable, so you will believe what a happiness it was to find the moment I began that I was all right and could talk to them in my natural way. I had lain awake since 2.30 and was feeling rather cheap, but perhaps on the whole this was a help, as it threw me back more entirely on help from above, and I tried to give myself up entirely to the influence of the Holy Spirit. . . .

"I am sitting in the beautiful great study, where all Episcopal Synods have been held. Such a perfect room to work in, an inspiration, while Thompson is arranging the books in the shelves."

I make no apology for printing the following memories of a lady, a relative, and a missionary :—

"He was a delightful host, so thoughtful for detail in arranging for one's comfort and enjoyment as well as being most interesting and amusing ; at times he kept the whole table entertained with Irish stories, and especially at the time of the Bishop of Assam's wedding in Calcutta, Christmas, 1917, when the latter had two anxious days waiting for his *fiancée* to arrive from Ireland. The two bishops were full of fun, capping each other's stories. The two or three following ones are examples.

"IRISH FUN

"1. Mrs. Lefroy (the Bishop's mother), on arriving in Killiney, went to see the woman who was to supply her with milk, and examined the pans, etc. Mrs. Lefroy : 'Now you will really send me good milk, won't you ?' Woman : 'Why, yes, m'am, sure ; I will send it to you just as the Lord Almighty sends it to me.'

"2. Miss Lefroy talking to her gardener about a rock garden, he wished to show her his plans. She said, 'Wait while I go in for a cloak ;' to which he replied, 'Why, sure, you are not wanting a wrap ; you're as hardy as a wild goose.'

It was always the amusing side of an incident or of a person which struck him first, and one often saw a quiver at the corner of his mouth and a twinkle in his eye. Also he was very observant, and nothing escaped his notice.

In Simla he had the photograph of a number of most grotesque gargoyles in his room, and he said that when he was hard up for the subject of a sermon he studied the gargoyles' faces and they always gave him an inspiration.

On his study table in Calcutta he kept a child's toy, a little painted wooden Humpty Dumpty. Sitting one side up he was grinning, and turned the other side up the corners of his mouth were down. When worried over some problem or tired with writing, he would glance at Humpty Dumpty, and if he found him looking doleful he would say, "Let us turn him up the other way and we shall get along better." And all the time in pain.

To the Rev. C. Mayhew.

"July 10, 1914.

"The past two months have been the worst of my life as regards health. I went down with an obstinate attack of fever less than a week after reaching home, and since then I have never been out of the doctor's hands, while there has been much severe treatment (including all teeth out!) and another longish go of fever. I don't want to pile up the agony, and the M.D.'s declare that it will all work out for good, and that they believe that they have now got at the bottom of my arthritis and can arrest further progress (God grant it!), but you will not be surprised if I have not been able to keep level with correspondence."

There follow a series of letters telling of his tours. Interspersed are some commenting on the work of which an account has already been given.

"The Palace, Calcutta : March 20, 1913.

"I have had some quaint language experiences during the last week. On Sunday I celebrated and preached in one of the chief Bengali congregations here—the simple method being that I took all my parts in English, they theirs in Bengali. The great majority of them were educated and could follow English fairly—or so I was assured—and it was wonderful how easily and smoothly everything seemed to go. I tried to be slow, clear, and simple in preaching, and altogether the service seemed to me a quite satisfactory one. The congregation represented a much higher type, socially, of Indian Christians than I have had to deal with before, one family having come in its motor! Then last week there was a Bengali Confirmation in the Cathedral, and while the greater part was taken for me by a Bengali Canon, who translated, and, I imagine, greatly improved upon, some notes of an address I had given him, I had learnt up the Bengali of the central part of the service and tackled it boldly. It wasn't mere parrot-work, for I recognised most of the words from Urdu and Hindi and knew their meaning, though of course I knew no other words of the language. I was greatly encouraged by the way in which my efforts were received, the pronunciation being quite approved of, and as Bishop Copleston told me this was the real difficulty of the language, it means a lot to me. I cannot spare a minute in the day for its study here, but I am arranging to take a teacher up to Darjeeling and make a real attempt to tackle it."

"On the banks of the Brahma Putra : April 21, 1913.

"I am just ending my Assam tour ; to-morrow I start for Darjeeling. It has been very interesting, though the sense of how wholly inadequate the spiritual ministrations are has been very saddening. There are actually fewer clergy in these parts than there were eight or ten years ago. It makes me feel how much the Assam Bishopric is required, and I shall begin to correspond with people at home on this as soon as possible. I have seen a lot of the tea planters and have been most favourably impressed—on the whole a wonderfully good type of men—and of their hospitality you can form some idea when I tell you that at one house Chota haziri comprised three hot meat courses and two cold, to say nothing of such details as porridge, eggs, etc. My heart rather sank when I remembered that within three or four hours at most we should be expected to deal—and deal faithfully—with Bara Haziri !"

"Darjeeling : June 11, 1913.

"I had a delightful holiday, if short, last week ; what wouldn't I have given to have had you two and Mother or Fred with me ! The flora and colouring of all sorts were amazing : orchids of every kind—tree and ground ; one very beautiful—for that matter they all were—the 'Bamboo Orchid,' a graceful plant, of bamboo appearance, some six or seven feet high, and on top one of the exquisitely delicate orchis flowers. Then the ferns ! There were tree ferns thirty or forty feet high, growing like a palm—a straight stem, but then the glorious fern sprays bursting out at the top. Growth everywhere—ferns, creepers, moss covering every tree and every spot of ground. In one or two places I noticed a sort of chaplet of ferns, some pinnate kind, springing out of a tree, not where there was a bough, or anything that we could see to give the least hold, but simply ringing round the bare stem, standing almost straight up to a height of two or three feet. It was all very wonderful. An old gentleman, at whose bungalow, on a tea estate, we spent one night, told us he had on one occasion accurately measured the growth of a bamboo and found it to be twenty-two inches in twenty-four hours. A very remarkable old man he was—came out, the son of a Scotch gardener, but by quiet perseverance, and real ability, has made himself quite the leading naturalist in all these parts, and you can imagine the scope for such ! His collections of ferns, flowers, butterflies, and almost everything you could think of were endless. We had neither the time

to go through them nor the knowledge to appreciate them. He showed us specimens of the Atlas Moth, measuring eleven inches from tip to tip and most gloriously marked. Then we had 2½ days at the St. Andrew's Homes, which were our special objective. A wonderful work for some of the poorest Eurasians is going on there. Most wise and practical training under a hard-headed Scotchman, and every help given them for character-forming. There were 400 children, half of them being Church of England, and for these hardly any special provision exists, as regards religious teaching and training. It was especially to consult with the head as to what could be done to remedy this that I went. He is most liberal and sympathetic, and I think something will come of it. On Sunday afternoon I was going to have service in a schoolroom for Church of England children, but he asked me whether I would not use their church—he knocking off their service altogether, and the Scotch community coming to our service. I gladly assented, and we had a most hearty service, the minister, Dr. Graham, reading the lessons for me. I don't honestly feel sure that I have heard the last of it, for if one of them—more warm-hearted than wise—sends a flaming notice to the papers, 'joint Church service conducted by the Metropolitan and the Presbyterian Minister,' or something to that effect, the fat will be in the fire—especially in view of the great suspicion with which I am at present regarded by all the 'spikey' ones. But I am perfectly clear in my own mind that there was no compromise of principle of any sort, I am thankful to say."

THE PROVINCIAL SYNOD

"Train for Madras : June 25, 1913.

"Bangalore Thursday—Wednesday passed as Tuesday—very satisfactorily, and at 10 p.m. I got here and was met on the platform by the Bishop of Madras, looking very well and as cheery as ever. I cannot tell you how I am looking forward to these next four weeks here. Indian bishops have never got together before for anything like so long, and I think—especially in view of our three personalities, markedly differing, in temperament, antecedents and everything—it ought to have great value. I *hope* there will be a real output of constructive work, Synod Constitution, etc., etc.; but be this at it may, I cannot doubt that by God's goodness it will mean a drawing of us all three still closer together in bonds of mutual understanding, sympathy and affection,

and this itself ought to mean a lot for the Church in the big and difficult days that are coming. The Bishop of Madras has taken a fine big house for us out here, and the weather is sufficiently pleasant, what they call cool in this poor misguided South."

"Bangalore : July 23, 1913.

"It is the last day of our meeting in Bangalore. Tomorrow early I start for Calcutta, getting in on Saturday, and after a very full few days there, get off for Simla on the 31st for consecration of the new Bishop of Lahore. We have been four Bishops in the house for the last few days, Dornakal having joined us, and Tinnevely also will be with us to-day. It has been a time of very great interest and I hope will yield permanent results, though we can put out nothing whatever as yet, all conclusions being too tentative and provisional. But the contact of the three of us has had all the value I hoped for, and I am sure we have been much helped by the Holy Spirit. Three more differently constituted minds it would, I think, be hard to find, and this of course had added greatly to the interest of meeting. It has not facilitated conclusions, for continually entirely fresh aspects were presented and one line of thought cut clean across another, but I think it did secure that all questions were viewed from a variety of standpoints and looked at all round, and I am sure the importance of this when we are making a start on an immensely big enterprise of this kind—fraught necessarily with so much of weal or woe to the Church—is great. We have differed very sharply, but the utmost harmony and good feeling have prevailed, and eventually we have been able to come together on all issues except two."

In August, 1913, the Metropolitan consecrated the Rev. H. B. Durrant, Bishop of Lahore.

"Viceregal Lodge, Simla : Aug. 7, 1913.

"The consecration went off very happily yesterday, all being as nice as possible, bar the weather, which was most unkind. I thought it would keep many away, as it was an unceasing pour from early morning, but it scarcely seemed to affect the attendance at all, which shows what real interest was being taken in the event. The only actual loss was that we couldn't have a photograph taken, for which I am really rather sorry. The Bishop of Dornakal was with us, and was one of the presenting Bishops. I believe his appearance in

this way, in so important a function, at the centre of the Empire, will do real good—bring home to many who had given the matter little or no thought what we have done in making him a Bishop. I think every one was favourably impressed by his appearance and manner. Almost the whole of official Simla was there, including the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge. The Viceroy told me the Lieut.-Governor himself, who is absent on tour, had expressed his entire readiness to return for the occasion if H.E. would like it. (Sir Michael O'Dwyer is a member of the Church of Rome.)

"I am just going to have an interview with H.E. to find out how things are going, *re* title of Archbishop and one or two other matters."

Later.

"He tells me his Council have unanimously agreed not to recommend the change of title to the Secretary of State. It is a disappointment to me, and I think the reasons he gives are quite without weight, but I imagine this ends it, and I am only glad that it is not a matter which has a more intimate relationship to the well-being and progress of the Church's work out here. I don't know whether my letter will go home to the Secretary of State at all. Have I told you that the Archbishop of Canterbury has talked to Lord Crewe about it, and he has expressed himself as decidedly favourable to the proposal? I pointed out to Lord Hardinge that the refusal of a perfectly reasonable and constitutional request of this kind must mean a good deal to us at the present time when we are feeling that movement ahead in various directions is essential, and we hoped to find the State sympathetic and helpful."

In 1914 the Metropolitan paid his last visit to England. He went on arrival to Lambeth Palace, and was struck down with a severe attack of malaria. Needless to say he was tenderly nursed by the Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson. He had a second attack after returning to his brother Edward's house, always his headquarters when he was in England, but in due time he was able to travel with his sister to Aix-les-Bains and tried every remedy there, including a process called "passive movements," which gave intense pain. It was to no purpose. At the beginning of that fateful August he was at Chamonix; the hotels were closed, and they managed to reach England, and he went to his brother Fred

at Ilkley, a never-to-be-forgotten visit ; then to the Irish home, and then for the last time he returned to India.

The Assam Bishopric.—The proposal to create a separate Bishopric for Assam was first made in 1901 by the Bishop of Calcutta (Dr. Copleston). No one was more insistent about it than Bishop Copleston for the sake of Assam and as a relief to the Metropolitan. To this end he spent much time in Assam laying foundations. He even went so far as to undertake the work of Chaplain at Shillong when that post was vacant. Indeed, his practical interest in that district was so great that he incurred criticism at Calcutta. He had, moreover, subscribed £1000 to the Endowment Fund before he resigned in 1912. He also agreed to give £100 a year towards the stipend of the Bishop, if it were necessary, in order that there should be no delay in consecrating a Bishop. Meanwhile Bishop Wilkinson (of Northern and Central Europe) had warmly advocated the cause and continued to raise funds towards the endowment until the date of his death. Originally the Endowment Fund for the Bishop's stipend had been fixed at £20,000. The S.P.G. provided £2000; the S.P.C.K. £1000; the Colonial Bishops' Fund £1000. The Indian Church Aid Association in 1911 gave £4000, in addition to other monies raised by them. Bishop Lefroy left as a bequest a sufficient sum to make up the necessary Endowment Fund. The stipend to accrue from the fund was fixed at £800 a year. In 1914 Letters Patent were obtained for the Consecration of the Bishop, and the Rev. H. Pakenham Walsh was consecrated at Epiphany, 1915, by the Metropolitan in Calcutta.

A UNITY RETREAT

"Serampore : April 21, 1915.

"I am not sure whether I have told you anything of the object which has brought me to this place—a Baptist college chiefly for training ordinands, on the banks of the Hooghly, about fifteen miles up from Calcutta. We are having what we have called a 'Unity Retreat.' The idea came—to me at any rate—originally from Mr. Holland, the very interesting and keen C.M.S. Missionary in Calcutta of whom I see so much. Then I took it up, and have taken the lead. We

have come together, nineteen I think in all, all leading ministers of various denominations in or near Calcutta, Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, and various others ; we came out on Tuesday night and spent yesterday and to-day in joint devotion and conference, most of us returning to Calcutta late to-night. I was responsible for the 'devotional exercises' yesterday, a Presbyterian M.D. to-day. The subject for discussion was 'What do I mean by the Church?' papers on it being prepared and circulated previously from three standpoints, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Congregational. Our paper was written by a member of the Oxford Mission, and, as most of the other Anglicans present are C.M.S. men, you may imagine that it contained statements at least as difficult for them to receive as for the 'separated Brethren.' But they have been very good and have not proclaimed our differences. You see that we have not shrunk from tackling a very burning question. We believed we could venture it, trusting to a really happy atmosphere and sense of mutual trust, and I think the results have quite justified us. Of course we have not attained any very tangible result, but I do not think it is too much to say that not a word has been spoken which one would have wished unsaid, and a spirit of brotherliness and desire for mutual understanding and approach has been manifest throughout. I do not think there can be any question that, as individuals, we separate with kindlier feelings and some greater degree of understanding of mutual positions and difficulties than when we met."

ON TOUR IN THE SOUTH

"Quilon, Travancore : Sept. 13, 1915.

"We have just got in by motor from Trevandrum—which you ought to find on a map—the capital of Travancore, forty-three miles. I had a variety of interesting functions this morning—especially a visit to a very remarkable C.E.Z.M.S. girls' school. It is built under the very shadow of the Maharajah's palace—a home of all strictest Hindu orthodoxy—and largely supported by H.H. Of course there is a long history behind it into which I cannot go. Now there are over 400 girls, all Brahmins or other high-castes, who are under daily Christian influence and teaching of the most direct sort. A number of them sang in Tamil, 'Jesus loves me, this I know,' as a sort of festive song, and with expressions of deep devotion. I have myself rather mixed

feelings about this sort of thing, as I cannot doubt that the majority of them would sing it just as keenly, or more so, if you substituted the name of some Hindu god, and there is an element of unreality in it as things are. It is, however, very remarkable, and, our Lord being the living power He is, one cannot doubt that the underlying truth does find a way into not a few of the little susceptible and very affectionate hearts.

"Then I had a variety of interviews, chiefly in connection with what I can see will be a central object of effort throughout my tour in the Diocese. I scarcely suppose you know anything about the existence of an old Syrian Church (the epithet has no reference whatever to race or blood, but simply to ecclesiastical connection: for a good long time past they have been connected with Antioch, and their Bishops, or 'Metrans,' are consecrated by the Patriarch of Antioch) in these parts. Very great interest attaches to it, and the thoughts of many Anglicans are turning increasingly to it as a possible leader in the work of evangelisation in India because its Christianity is so truly indigenous. But one feature—a very sad one—stands out prominently. Such a history of faction and constant ecclesiastical splits and schisms I hardly thought any Christian Church could show. At present it is troubled—and any potentiality for spiritual effort in the cause of Christ is fatally hampered by one of these, which has originated since Rae's book was written, so is not referred to there—but exactly of the type of which he gives many instances. Obviously the most urgent need for the Church's welfare is that the breach should be healed. They are, of course, quite distinct from the Anglican Communion, and in fact view us—theoretically at least—with a good deal of suspicion, much as the Russian Church does, but at the same time, ever since Bishop Middleton's time there have been friendly relations between us and them, and they are inclined to look to the Bishop of Calcutta with a certain amount of respect. Before I started on the tour the idea had been mooted in the papers that I might be called on to arbitrate in some way between the conflicting parties. I much doubt if they would either of them really agree to this, and assuredly I would not accept the position, for reasons into which I cannot enter, but I am throwing myself keenly into the matter on other lines, urging upon the leaders the horrible dishonour they are bringing on our Lord's name, and the fatal injury they are doing to His Church, and trying to arouse in them some fresh sense of the urgency of bringing

their litigation to a close and healing their breaches. Of course it means a very big job, and I don't suppose I shall see any practical result whatever, but I am sure I am on the right lines, along which alone a real cure for the disease can be found—and that is enough for me."

"(Rice Fields) Tour: September 3, 1915.

"I could write you sheets about a tour I took recently of about six days in one of the rice districts to the south of Calcutta, worked by brothers and sisters of the Oxford Mission, if only limitation of time did not prevent my writing more than about half as many lines! The method of travel was wholly novel to me. All from Calcutta to the sea is an immense flat delta intersected by endless waterways of every imaginable dimension, from great broad rivers to tiniest channels. By these most transport, and transit, in the district is made all the year round. (The whole country is under rice.) But at this season it is all flooded to a uniform depth of about four to five inches, the rice, however, keeping pace with the water, and standing at present about two inches above the surface. When excessive floods come, and the level rises so rapidly that the rice cannot keep pace, then it gets 'drowned' and famine follows. This is the case this year in considerable parts of Bengal, though not where I was. We moved about in a small, but very comfortable, house-boat of the sisters, with draught of only about two inches, but quite roomy. We would go along a water-channel, with beautiful green crops stretching as far as the eye could see on every side, you might imagine it to be flax, on ordinary dry ground, except that, of course, the water shows in places. Then you want to get to a village, so you just leave the waterway and the boat is poled and punted in any direction you please across the field—doing, of course, no harm whatever to the rice, which is just brushed aside to let it pass. It brings home to one the amazing flatness of the country. Not once did we come across a single inequality of surface, say of three inches, in which the boat would have grounded. Rate of progression from one to one and a half miles per hour—so, after motors and the like, there was a distinct sense of restfulness! And the work of the brothers and sisters is simply magnificent in kindness and devotion."

The following is the only letter in which the Metropolitan refers to the problems of the German Missions in India, at least to his home circle. The subject, I suppose, was too serious and complicated.

" Ranchi : July 16, 1915.

"I am enjoying my visit here very much. Negotiations are going on daily with regard to this very big matter of the making over by Government of all the German Mission work in these parts to the Church of England; in fact, I believe the Bishop is at this very time interviewing the head of the German Mission on behalf of the Government, and telling him exactly what their intentions are. It is perfectly delightful to see how completely he has won the confidence and support of his Government, while the papers are shrieking at him as a pro-German. I do not suppose there is any other Province in India where anything approaching to the same intimacy of relationship exists between the administration and the Bishop. Of course, in some ways the conditions are much easier, for it is a very small province, with quite a small knot of administrators—almost all of them earnest Churchmen—and the whole thing is rather in the nature of a family gathering. Two days ago the Bishop and I went out by motor to Murhu, some thirty miles off, where Dr. and Mrs. Kennedy are working, and had a most enjoyable visit. There is a splendid spirit in the place, and life evident everywhere. I meant to have said that the C.M.S. in the Diocese are rising splendidly to this sudden need and opportunity, and placing three or four good men at the Bishop's disposal, without even waiting to consult, or get the permission of, their home committee. All are viewing it as a call to the whole Church."

The Calcutta Diocesan Conference, and its first session under the new regulations.

" Darjeeling : April 27, 1916.

"Yours of the 29th reached me two days ago, and I expect the letters of the following mail this afternoon, so we are catching up. You ask about the Diocesan Conference. I secured the Town Hall: one large room served for our debate, and dinner was laid in the central hall, where we could have seated 300 just as easily as 150. We did not ask members to pay; one night they were my guests (about £30), for the other two nights I sent round a paper to the members of our regular Diocesan *Council*, a standing body, including some wealthy merchants, and the amount needed was easily raised. The club objections were, as you suppose, aroused by fears of too much influence being given to Indians. They caught chiefly at two points. I spoke, of course, of the whole

movement as an advance in self-government on the part of the Church. Self-government is a term in constant use out here, always in the sense of developing the Indian sphere as distinct from, often in opposition to, the English: consequently, the term is very suspect with most Englishmen. I did not, at first, make it sufficiently clear that in our case the term was being used in quite a different connotation, not Indian *v.* English at all, but the whole Church seeking greater liberty of action. When this was really made clear, opposition on the point disappeared, though suspicions may have remained. Then, in the draft constitution I put before them, there was a proposal to call our Church 'The Church of India in communion with the Church of England,' instead of simply the 'Church of England.' In reality this clause ought not to have appeared; it was carried over from the draft originally prepared for a full and authoritative *Synod*, in which case we meant to propose this, but had no place in the constitution of a mere council. It gave great umbrage—again in the general line of being 'pro-native,' and asking Englishmen to take a back seat. I apologised for the mistake of its insertion, and struck it out—to their great satisfaction. I think the feeling continues that the conference did real good: I have had just one word about it with my Diocesan Registrar, a barrister, extremely nice fellow, and entirely in touch with the sahibs, and he said he thought it was 'magnificent!'

• I turn aside here to give as briefly as possible Bishop Lefroy's efforts to win full self-government for the Indian Church. Thirty years before this, Bishop Johnson had created a Diocesan Council for Calcutta, but it was for advice only. Bishop Copleston had advanced much further. He was the author of the Episcopal Synod. The Indian Bishops meet in session annually for conference, but in Bishop Copleston's opinion it was not possible for synods, whether diocesan or provincial, to have coercive power under the present constitution of the Church of England. Such meetings could only be advisory. Ere Bishop Copleston resigned he recommended the addition of both clergy and laity to the Episcopal Synod, making it in a fuller sense provincial, but still only as an advisory council. In his last Episcopal Synod Bishop Copleston invited the Bishops to progress in this direction. Now all the while Lefroy was urging stronger

action. As Bishop of Lahore he pressed for diocesan and provincial synods with coercive powers, and on the basis of "consensual compact."

The Episcopal Synod, at the beginning of December, 1912, adopted Lefroy's view, and formed a committee to draft a constitution for a Provincial Council, consisting of the Metropolitan (Lefroy) and the Bishops of Madras and Bombay. Meanwhile, the Indian Bishops went back to their dioceses, and almost all of them created diocesan synods. The committee of three had, in fact, before them the schemes from Bombay, Lucknow, Travancore, Nagpur, Rangoon, and Chota Nagpur. They spent two months over their provincial scheme, first meeting at Bangalore and then at Ranchi. Lefroy was, of course, suffering pain, but all along he was the chief motive force, the Bishop of Bombay taking upon himself the drafting of the clauses. At the conclusion of the two months' conference, the Bishop of Madras wrote to the Metropolitan to thank him "for the patient and able chairmanship, which enabled us to get through such a heavy programme without omitting anything of importance." Having completed their draft, the three Bishops took counsel's opinion whether a scheme of coercive character, and based on consensual compact was legally possible. The lawyers stated that it was not possible. Whereupon Lefroy pressed that the scheme should be so modified that it might become operative in the fullest sense some day with the smallest amount of change. The term "council" was, therefore, substituted for "synod," and all allusion to consensual compact was struck out, as well as of coercive power.

But the Church in India was preparing for the day when disestablishment might come, by living at once as nearly as possible under a system of government like that of the Church of Ireland, or of South Africa.

This draft constitution was placed before the Episcopal Synod of 1918, Bishop Lefroy presiding, was passed by it after having considered criticisms from all the dioceses which had created diocesan synods, and in February, 1920, an Assembly of the Church is to be held, which may resolve itself into the first Provincial Council. Whatever may be the

practical result, no one can fail to see how keen was Lefroy's desire to press forward true self-government.

ON TOUR

"River Steamer : March 8, 1916.

"This river trip, which I think I mentioned last week, is proving as delightful a rest-cure as possible. If only you and M. could be with me! You would be fascinated. But description, I fear, is beyond me. We (Robson and myself) came on board on Monday night, and very early in the morning we dropped down the river. Calcutta is about eighty miles up the Hooghly : we followed it for perhaps fifty miles, and then got into the regular delta, an interlacing mass of waterways running across in every possible direction and of all sizes. We then turned east, making our way sometimes along the shore of an estuary, and then along channels just wide enough to take the boat comfortably. It is now 10 a.m. on Wednesday (Ash Wednesday), and for twenty hours or so we have been in the narrower kind, constantly twisting and turning. We carry an electric searchlight, which enables night travelling, though how they don't lose their way, by night or by day, seems a marvel. In parts there is no sign of habitation, the banks being covered right down to the water's edge with mangroves and various primitive forms of shrubs and trees. A constant interest is the chance of coming on a tiger swimming across the stream. I believe it is not infrequent, although all I have yet seen was a beautiful speckled deer on a grassy point that we rounded early this morning. It wasn't a hundred yards off, and didn't mind the steamer in the very least. Also, in our bathroom this morning, there was the most glorious moth, an 'Atlas,' I think it is called, wings spread out, and measuring from tip to tip about 9 inches, with the richest colouring of browns and reds and purples. I think its race is well-nigh run, and we may be able to carry it off. Just now we are running through a part where the land is a little higher, doubtless rather older formation, and it is being brought under cultivation, with primitive little homesteads springing up, and the usual abundance of little brown, stark-naked babies and children, all looking supremely happy. The steamer is a fair-sized, flat-bottomed one, bound eventually for Assam, up some of the larger waterways, the Brahma Putra, I think. She is cargo entirely, *i.e.* not carrying native passengers, but with

about half a dozen nice cabins on an upper deck for Europeans. The manager of the company is a devout Churchman, indeed I confirmed him, to his wife's great joy, about a year ago in my chapel, and he is doing me well, having selected a particularly nice steamer for the run, and plainly charged the servants to do us very well. Robson and I are alone, so it is really almost like a private yacht. When I add that the fare for each for a three days' trip (missionary rates!) is 7s. 6d., plus 5s. per day for food, of which there is the greatest abundance, with fruit, etc., etc., you will agree that we are rather in clover."

"Train: February 6, 1917.

"At Ellore, my first halt on this tour, a thing happened which gave me deeper happiness, I think, than anything for long. There were about seven C.M.S. clergy, one Indian priest (Canon of Madras), Bishop Whitehead, and myself, and the clergy expressed their wish to be transferred from the diocese of Madras to that of Dornakal. I believe I am right in saying that four years ago some of them had expressed very strongly their determination not to work under an Indian Bishop. Certainly many of the Madras missionaries took this position. The change is a most wonderful testimony to the depth and power of Bishop Azariah's work. A more splendid indication of the wisdom of making the experiment could hardly be imagined. I know how intensely delighted Bishop Copleston would be, and I should greatly like to tell him of it at once, but I am not doing so as the matter is (N.B.) strictly confidential at present, and I don't think Bishop Azariah himself has the least idea the proposal is coming. I promised to say nothing myself. But I hope action will be taken before at all long, and I quite hope that such difficulties as there are may be overcome, and the step taken. It will be very splendid. It was delightful seeing Bishop Azariah among his people; the true leadership, together with the entire sympathy and mutual understanding."

It was during the course of 1918 that the Metropolitan heard that the army authorities had at length given orders that brothels in cantonments should disappear. It is a painful subject. The Metropolitan never ceased pressing the Christian view, and he tells how the Salvation Army and others were splendid advocates. The two points steadily made were: (1) the women; the causes which led them to the

life, their life whilst engaged in such a trade, and their end ; (2) the moral effect upon the soldiers. Often in Lefroy's letters there came phrases such as "Continue in prayer about it."

Once more at Darjeeling.

"May 28, 1918.

"I got up here last week and am in clover, being looked after, in the most filial way, by the Governor's Private Secretary and his wife, staunch Calcutta friends and very religious Presbyterians. The Governor kindly asked me to stay with him ; but Mr. Gourlay explained that their smaller house, with no stairs, and no dinner parties, was more in my line just now. But we are in the grounds, just alongside the big house and I have the most natty little set of apartments such as my heart delights in, beautiful office table alongside an open window, with telephone at my elbow, etc., etc. I wish all these little things didn't mean so much to me, and that there was more of the faqir spirit, but so it is. I have an unlimited invitation, and I know that it would not be easy really to outstay my welcome, but I don't want to be shameless, so I am making it three weeks in all, *i.e.* another fortnight from to-day. Then I move across to Kalimpong, but instead of halting for one night en route at a delightful tea garden, I have asked them to keep me for about a week. It will be the most entire quiet and rest, though of course the daily post. Then about a week at Kalimpong, the idea of these halts being to fill in the time till the rains break about the end of June, without cadging too much on any one household. It is a little amusing, all my hosts are Presbyterians ! We get on none the less well, and they are all kindness itself. The weather is tolerable, not too cold, but little sunshine, much fog and cloud when not raining, looking out of my window this moment I can't see 100 yards. I think I must send you the enclosed from Ferguson Davie, which reached me three days ago. I am really much touched by the way in which he writes. He at any rate has no doubt as to where I ought to settle down if I do have to quit ! You must let me have it back. I had not thought, recently, of taking any leave, and I don't suppose the cure he speaks of would do much for me, but all the same I am rather tempted. It is morally, even if not physically, good to go on trying things : a little head rest after three and a half years of very strenuous work would do me no harm, I have no engagements of importance pending, and I think the Diocese would heave a sigh of relief at the prospect of a little quiet, and I might get good."

CHAPTER XIX

THE LAST MONTHS

I MUST go back to December, 1917, to give a letter from St. Paul's Home, Calcutta, to Bishop Pakenham Walsh in Assam.

"December 19th, 1917.

"MY LORD,

"We are girls of St. Paul's Home and our Bishop is getting an increase of the sickness which troubles him, so we hope you will not mind us asking you to use your great powers of Prayer and healing because we believe that his illness can be lessened by the power of God. We hope you will not mind our request. We enclose a paper we have received in which we are asked to pray for our Bishop. We will be very grateful to you if you can grant our request.

"We are, My Lord,

"Your obedient children,

Then follow the names of eleven girls.

On February 10, 1918, Lefroy writes home :

"You will be interested to know that I have to-day been anointed for healing by Herbert Pakenham Walsh. A few weeks ago he sent on to me a letter which he had received from some Eurasian school girls in a very poor parish here. He has anointed several persons in that parish, with, I understand, good results ; at any rate, they believe in his power, and when the children knew I was getting worse, they wrote asking him to see if he could not help me. It was rather touching, and coming in this way I did not like simply to ignore the suggestion, so when he came down for the Synod I had a talk with him, explained my position, of mind and belief, on the subject, and said I should be quite glad to be anointed if he thought it might do good. He said he would like to anoint me, so after morning service to-day we came together in my house-chapel, just a few of my closest friends, 'Molly,' Mr. Godber, Foss Westcott, and Bishop of Madras,

Bishop of Bombay and his wife, and Mrs. Walsh. A senior priest in Calcutta, who has often taken part with Herbert in such services, joined in the laying on of hands. It was very quiet and reverent, and I am sure will be helpful some way or other."

I must also print Lefroy's letter to his old friend Allnutt on December 4, 1917. Both were soon to pass through the veil.

"MY DEAR ALLNUTT,

" 'Thirty-eight years ago to-day' ¹ (Ps. xxiii. 6).

"I am sending out the enclosed rather widely—though of course chiefly only in the diocese. Would you distribute to those in the old Mission who really know me and you think would like to have a copy. Of course I will send more if you want them.

"Yours affectionately,

"G. A. CALCUTTA."

"The Bishop is suffering from a disease which has recently advanced considerably, and makes it uncertain how long he will be able to retain charge of the diocese. He would value prayer :

"1. That if it be God's will the disease may be arrested.

"2. That he may be able to accept whole-heartedly and gladly whatever proves to be God's will in the matter.

"Calcutta. November 26, 1917."

In July, 1918, Lefroy determined to pay a visit to his old friend and chaplain, Bishop Ferguson Davie, at Singapore, and distinctly to give himself a chance of improved health. The result was disastrous, yet he had the best of attendance and nursing, Mrs. Ferguson Davie being a fully trained doctor. Apparently the Metropolitan had heard news of special treatment, and sulphur springs for arthritis, in or near Singapore. There seemed to be nothing of the kind. From Singapore he went to Java. I give two Java letters.

"Sungoriti, near Sourabaja, Java, E. :

"September 4, 1918.

"At last, to-day, I have reached my ultima thule, and it remains to be seen what comes of it. In some ways it seems

¹ They arrived at Delhi.

to me the most daft performance of my life, coming off to this strange and distant land, with practically no single point of contact or friendship, in the present unsatisfactory condition of my health. I am not, however, going to attempt fuller explanation or justification at present, in part because I fancy my last two (one of these never arrived) letters from Singapore will have enabled you to understand something of the difficulties by which I was surrounded, in part because I am a bit tired with the day's journey, my temperature is going up again a little, and I don't think it would be wise to write much, and the mail leaves at 5 a.m. to-morrow. I had a satisfactory interview with a keen little Dutch doctor in Sourabaja yesterday. He examined me all over, pronounced me absolutely sound in every respect, maintained that I ought not to take the lameness, etc., too seriously, as it was sometimes far worse ! and quite approved of my coming on to this little health resort (you will not find it marked on any map, it is merely an hotel and some natural hot sulphur springs) to get the freshness I have been so pining for and to try the baths, though he doesn't lay much stress on these and regards it as purely experimental. The air is pleasant, though it is not so high as I had been told, only about 2000 feet. The hotel is very empty, not a trace of an English face, all Dutch or German, I think chiefly the former. I have been most fortunate in securing a 'courier' to bring me up here, the one Church of England chaplain in Java, meeting me at Batavia, the first port of call, and then coming on the two days in the steamer and then bringing me up here. Unfortunately he has to start back at 5 a.m. to-morrow, so as to be in time for his Sunday work in Batavia, and then I shall be left wholly alone. How long I shall be able to stick it, or what will come of the whole quaint enterprise, I haven't an idea, the one thing that has driven me to it being the extraordinary difficulty of knowing what else to do or where else to go. Unless I make improvement fairly quickly, I shall simply make a rush back to India by the very first boat I can get, though in these days that leaves a very large margin of uncertainty. But I begin to feel that, whatever there may be to be said on the other side, I simply must get back to friends again. There is a weekly mail from here to Singapore, and I am writing for that, what subsequent delays there may be before the letter travels westwards, no one can say in the least. The low fever in the evenings has not broken yet, and the hip pain is pretty bad, but I think things will improve now. You won't be anxious knowing in Whose keeping I

am. Mr. Colman and I have just read Evensong with the xxiii. Psalm."

"Sungoriti : September 11, 1918.

"How very nice it would be if I could give you something in a brighter strain than my last few effusions, but it would only be unreal if I were to try to do so to-day. Apparently things have got to get worse before they can get better, at any rate, I am very nearly on my beam ends, or is it beam's end! I have put in just a week here to-day: in many ways the place is quite nice, with charming quiet, and I am taking the hot sulphur baths twice daily, though without the smallest perceptible result. But the pain in my hip has got worse, and sometimes I feel that I cannot stick it out longer up here, cut off from doctors and all medical appliances, and must make a bolt for Sourabaja, where I believe they have a quite good European hospital, and see what they can do for me in it. The fever also returns regularly every day, and altogether perhaps you can imagine that things don't look rosy. One little relief to my loneliness I have found, a nice young Dutchman living in the hotel comes in every evening to translate the war news for me from his Dutch newspaper. He knows very little English and the process is quaint, but I have procured a dictionary, and we get along somehow. Also, as a return, I gave him a beating at chess yesterday. But as to one thing I have quite made up my mind at last, and I think it will be a relief to you, to get back to India as soon as I possibly can so as to be amongst friends again, with proper appliances, etc., etc. Of course it doesn't mean that I shall resume charge at once. I am utterly unfit for that at present, indeed, the whole future is wrapt in uncertainty at present, and I am not even trying to look ahead. But I am simply craving to be back, it outweighs every consideration. Sailings are, however, most irregular in these parts, and it is one thing to say I have determined to get back as quick as I can, quite another to make the least forecast as to when that will be. I was told in Sourabaja, where I was the guest of one of the partners in the chief shipping firm, that there may be a cargo boat sailing very shortly from there direct to Calcutta. This would mean a great deal to me, and I have asked my friend to do all he can to manage it. The alternative is to go back to Singapore, sailing from here D.V. 19th inst., then get a steamer for Penang, about thirty-six hours, then wait there for one to Rangoon, six or seven days' run, and from there boats go twice weekly to Calcutta. But you can imagine what all this knocking about would

mean in my present condition. Well, my very dear ones, I won't depress you further or needlessly. As you know, I am all the time in the very best of keeping and things will work together for good some way or other. I will do my best to write cheerier before long."

Wearily but as courageous as ever, Lefroy returned to India, and to Ranchi to Foss Westcott.

"Bishop's Lodge, Ranchi : October 16, 1918.

"I reached my Mecca this morning, with thankfulness and joy. The drier, colder air, for which I have been pining so long, when I awoke this morning acted like a tonic, and I feel better, and in better heart, than I have for long."

On October 29 he writes to Archdeacon Firminger preparing him for resignation. In November he wrote home for the first time by another hand, preparing his relatives for it. He was taken to Calcutta on December 3, with what care, some letters I give will show. Then on December 6 he wrote his last letter home.

"Woodburn Ward, Presidency General Hospital, Calcutta :

"December 6, 1918.

"MY DARLING SISTERS,

"Once again a communication in this way is the only alternative to silence practicable, viz., by an amanuensis.

"Three days ago I received your letters of October 14th, 23rd, and 28th. I will not stop to comment on them, though there is so much to say, especially about the Leinster (!) but will proceed at once to give you what I know you chiefly desire, the latest news about myself. I haven't got here a copy of my letter to you covering the Archbishop's, but I fancy that was the last thing to bring you up to date. Not long after that, the doctor in whose charge I was at Ranchi advised me to return to Calcutta, not as being in any way better but because he thought the cold was too great there, and that the milder climate of Calcutta would be better. It was a great pleasure to me. I must say a word about the railway journey down, for it really was very remarkable. The first part, at any rate, of the road, is very jolty and shaky, and every one was anxious as to how it would affect me in view of the great tenderness of my right leg. I fully shared the feeling myself. In the result I reached Calcutta having had a much better night than I had had in my own bed for

some time past, having had no single twinge of pain, and slept well. Of course all kinds of arrangements had been made for me beforehand to soften the difficulties of the journey, but I cannot help thinking that this is very remarkable. I reached Calcutta on Wednesday and the pleasure of being in my own bed again was greater than I can tell you. And then, lo! this morning my doctor came and said he was quite sure that I was not giving myself the best chance by staying in my own house with somewhat imperfect nursing and other arrangements, and he very strongly advised me to move across to a first-class European hospital there is here, name at the top of the paper. Of course I did what he advised, but the disappointment was very great. When I tell you that the only way in which I could get from the station to my house and from there to the hospital was by being carried on a stretcher in a motor ambulance, you will understand a little the condition of impotence to which I am reduced. Here, however, I am in the hands of what many consider the leading doctor in Calcutta, while a wonderful man, whose name may possibly have reached you, Sir Leonard Rogers, a great bacteriologist, has also thrown himself keenly into the case, and most assuredly they will do all that lies in their power.

"I will not disguise from you that personally I consider the issue very uncertain, though I have no doubt whatever as to the necessity of my resignation at a comparatively early date. It is very sad indeed that at such a time, when it would mean so much to us to be together, we are so very, very far apart, but this is part of God's ordering for our life, and there is nothing more to be said.

"May the Heavenly Father bless and keep you at all times."

It is not easy to decide how much he of whom I am honoured to write would have cared to have details of his illness published, but his thousands of friends will be glad if I add a few words from some who tended him in his last days.

Bishop Foss Westcott writes from Ranchi :

"The fever baffled the Ranchi doctors, as it had those elsewhere, and when it refused to yield to treatment it seemed best that he should be moved to the Cottage Hospital where he could receive the skilled attendance he needed. The hospital had only recently been opened and is beautifully

fitted up, and he could not have been more comfortable than he was there. It is situated about a mile and a half from the Mission, which imposed limits on the frequency of one's visits, but I saw him daily, and other members of the missionary body looked in from time to time, for he liked to receive visitors and missed the friends who would have called to see him had he been in Calcutta. Despite the fever he continued to deal with his correspondence and spoke of various subjects which were occupying his thoughts at the time. One matter in particular weighed much upon his mind—a case of discipline dating back to the time when he was Bishop of Lahore in which while accepted at the time, the justice of his action had later been called in question. He dwelt upon this subject much, and it deeply troubled him ; he felt that he could not modify his decision in the matter, and that misunderstanding was largely responsible for the situation that had arisen. Believing that C. F. Andrews might be able to help him in the case he wired an invitation to him to come up to Ranchi, which met with a ready response, though Andrews was at the time on the opposite side of India. The interview was encouraging, for Lefroy was able to explain certain features of the case which Andrews had not rightly understood before, and he left full of hope that he would be able to remove the misunderstandings and secure the recognition of the essential justice of the Bishop's action. Shortly afterwards Lefroy received letters both from Andrews and the priest concerned which greatly cheered him, and before the Bishop's death Andrews was able to assure him that the matter was completely settled, an assurance which brought immense relief to the Bishop's mind.

"Ranchi is fortunate in that the Civil Surgeon has at his command a supply of radium, and the doctors, without being able to give any sure prediction of benefit from its application in the Bishop's case, thought that at least it was worth while trying it. Accordingly the trial was made, but was continued only a short time, for certain distressing symptoms which later supervened were at any rate in the Bishop's mind definitely associated with its application.

"On Thursdays and Sundays when in Ranchi I celebrated the Holy Communion in his room, and in my absence the Rev. R. Gee was generally able to do so. I had to leave Ranchi on the 13th of November to attend the annual meeting of the National Missionary Council at Benares. Of that Council the Bishop had been president since its first inception, and in that capacity he had won the affection and admiration

of all its members. As chairman at its meetings, his transparent fairness, the patience with which he listened to every one who felt he had views to express, the delightful humour which often relieved the tension when divergent opinions seemed to threaten the maintenance of harmony, and above all his deep spirituality which helped us at all times to feel the reality of the Divine Presence, and never allowed us to forget that the business on which we were engaged was the King's business, and our aim His glory. The account I had to give of the Bishop's health evoked deep sympathy, and a message was sent him. On the second day of our meeting a telegram reached me saying that pneumonia had supervened on an attack of influenza, and that he was very low. While in doubt as to whether I ought not to return a second message brought more reassuring news, and from that time he made good progress. His chaplain, the Rev. J. Godber, had by now returned from his duty in Kashmir, to the great relief of the Bishop who had sorely missed him from the office in Calcutta. He at once went up to Ranchi to see the Bishop, and during the week he spent there was able to assist the Bishop in clearing off various items of business, to his great relief, for he intensely disliked delay in dealing with matters which were brought before him. At this time he sent out a letter to the Bishops of the Province preparing them for resignation.

"But it was not only the cooler atmosphere of Ranchi that he had longed for, the Bishop had a great capacity for friendship and he had felt keenly the absence of any companion on his journey. On more than one occasion he had spoken to me in Calcutta of his sense of isolation, and as the advance of the arthritis had increasingly limited his powers of getting about this sense of loneliness had grown upon him. During his voyage he was left practically entirely to himself, and he longed for a companion. Before he left India his friends had been doubtful as to the wisdom of his going, but he felt himself that he must get out of India to gain that complete rest from his work which was imperative, and no other way seemed open to him. Moreover, just when other doors had been closed the invitation from his old friend the Bishop of Singapore arrived, and it seemed providential. To one who lived so constantly under the sense of the reality of God's guidance, this was a sufficient argument for taking the journey, and when speaking of the long tour afterwards he would always say, '*From the point of view of health it has been a grievous disappointment,*' and one felt that he believed that it had served some higher purpose and had not been in vain."

Miss Violet Saunders writes :

"Of his visit to Singapore in the summer of 1918 he wrote on his return saying, 'I can safely say it has been the worst experience in my life, it is like a nightmare to look back upon.' The pain in his hip gave him indescribable agony. He had with him all the time a most faithful and devoted Christian servant who helped him in every way he could, but the knocking about and the damp climate did him much harm, from which he never recovered."

On Dec. 3, the Metropolitan supported by loving friends, see his letter of Dec. 6, returned to Calcutta and entered the hospital, where he was nursed by Sister Katherine Maud, of the Clewer Community, and ministered to by his devoted chaplain the Rev. J. Godber as well as Canon Stuart. Near him all the while were also Mrs. McGuire, and his faithful Indian servant, Selwan. Mrs. McGuire was for years the faithful servant of Bishop Matthew. When Bishop Matthew was succeeded by George Lefroy as Bishop of Lahore, Mrs. McGuire continued her services at Lahore and at Simla, and accompanied the Bishop to Calcutta, and remained with him to the end, much beloved, and Bishop Lefroy has provided for her generously in his will. And here it may be as well to say that, with the exception of a few legacies, the Bishop bequeathed all his property for the advancement of Church work in India, directing that the endowment of the Assam Bishopric should have the first claim if the necessary funds had not been obtained at the time of his death. The residue he divided between the Cambridge Mission, Delhi—the S.P.G.—educational work in the Diocese of Lahore, and the Calcutta Diocesan Council. It will also be of interest to know that the Assam Bishopric Endowment Fund had been completed by the time of the Bishop's death. But to continue, the Metropolitan was able to transact business at first and went to the extreme limit of strength to do so. A notice outside his room precluded visitors, but in spite of this he used to say, "If there are any wishing to speak to me let them come: go and see if any one is waiting outside. I am sure many want to speak to me. I would rather hurt myself a little than harm the Church." He even used to raise his voice

and say, "If any one is waiting outside let him come in." It had been arranged that the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, should pay him a visit ; but the doctor suggested postponement. Lefroy said, "I think it would be better to ask His Excellency to postpone his visit until the day before he leaves Calcutta." It was on that day, indeed, that the Viceroy came, but it was to attend his funeral. Throughout those days of Advent he received the sacrament when he could, but could endure fatigue less and less, and begged those round him to pray that he might keep his attention. About Christmas Day he became gradually unconscious, but at times ejaculated sentences, such as, "Dear Father of mankind, I only want to do Thy Will: I just want strength to do it." Just as at Ranchi he was continually ministered to by the Rev. R. Gee and Mrs. Gee, so in Calcutta the Rev. J. Godber and Mrs. Godber and Miss Violet Saunders were ever at hand. On Dec. 25 he finally signed his deed of resignation, dated for Jan. 1, 1919. On that very date, the Feast of the Circumcision, he passed away late at night. As soon as he had breathed his last he was clad in his robes and taken to the Palace. On Jan. 2, in the evening, the body was removed to the cathedral, the Processional Cross and Pastoral Staff were laid upon the coffin and the clergy kept watch all night. At 7.30 a.m. on Jan. 3 there was a celebration of Holy Communion, and a very large company. At 8.30 a.m. the Funeral Service was attended by the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford, the Commander-in-Chief, the Governor of Bengal, and by a great concourse of people, and it added a delightful touch to the Funeral Service that the Greek Archimandrite not only attended but offered a prayer. The body was borne to the grave by officers of the Calcutta Light Horse and laid between two beautiful trees at the east end of the cathedral, the Cross and Staff having previously been taken from off the coffin and placed on the altar of the cathedral. All felt that there was nothing sad about the service: it was the passing in triumph of one of the Lord's standard bearers, and as the band played the last hymn, "Now the labourer's task is o'er," perhaps there was joy that a life of heroic suffering had been ended, and the river crossed to where "the trumpets sounded."

TESTIMONIES

I gather up a few expressions of the feelings of those who knew him best, in public or in private life, as they looked back on his completed earthly life.

Lord Curzon writes : " He was a man for whom I had the warmest regard and admiration. Bishop Lefroy seemed to me to combine in a wholly exceptional degree personal sanctity of character and life, with mundane sympathies and practical ability. He had the zeal of a crusader, the heart of a woman, and the spirits of a boy. He was a man to love and to remember."

In 1913 Canon and Mrs. Barnett visited the Punjab on their Indian tour. The following extract is from a letter in Canon Barnett's "Life": "We spent ten days with Lefroy, and remember him as a man with the power of God in him. I hope indeed he may be consulted so that government may be carried on as in the presence of God." •

The *Harvest Field* of February, 1919, voices the opinion of the Free Churches, as follows : "India is the poorer for the translation of Bishop Lefroy from earth to heaven. . . . We interviewed him for the *Harvest Field* more than thirty years ago, and we were then impressed with his courtesy, frankness, and high Christian principle. The idea was current that the members of the Cambridge Brotherhood had embraced a life of asceticism and devotion. He assured us that they had all they needed, and that from a temporal point of view they lacked nothing, nevertheless one could see that these scholarly men had made the supreme sacrifice. The offering in Lefroy's case was never recalled. The sacrifice remained on the altar to the end. Advancement in ecclesiastical rank made no difference."

A lady writes : "He had no idea how he was honoured for his saintly life and for the humble dignity with which he filled his office."

The above will suffice as quotations. Appreciations of him are piled beside me, but I think he of whom I have written would rather I reproduced no more.

I will try and gather up the words of love and reverence of all who knew him in as few sentences as possible. Surely

he was, if I may use a phrase already consecrated, "a very gallant gentleman."

One of his striking graces was generosity. He always judged generously, with the result that persons so judged lived up to the estimate. In the same way his acts of kindness gained by the manner in which they were done. Nor can any one doubt that there never was an honester or more outspoken person. Evidently it was hard for him to keep anything back, and his extreme candour was occasionally a source of trouble to those who gave him advice, presumably confidential, about the merits or otherwise of individuals.

A glance at his face would, I think, tell any one that he was not a man to browbeat or threaten. Then he became adamant, and would take action regardless of consequences. Nor can any one help being struck by the fearlessness of his utterances. It seemed natural to him, after observing the existence of an abuse, to devote himself to its extinction, and such was the transparency of his character that he excited admiration rather than hostility even among those whom he attacked. If we couple with this his Irish humour, his love of fun, his boyish spirits, his immense courage under the attacks of pain and disablement, we get a character to be loved and revered. Add once more an intensely devotional nature, a faith which never had a cloud upon it, a life of prayer if ever there was one in the case of a first-rate man of affairs, and we may assert that he adorned the offices he held. High and noble indeed are the traditions of Indian missionaries and of Indian bishops. It would be impossible to raise them higher ; all that the best can do is to sustain them, to add one more example for inspiration for succeeding generations. George Lefroy was not found wanting ; he did sustain the highest of those traditions as a fearless and devoted missionary, and as a great Bishop and Metropolitan. He lies, where I think he would desire to be laid, among the people for whom he gave his whole working life ; with Allnutt and Carlyon, his earliest companions as missionaries ; with the majority of the Bishops of Calcutta ;—a very gallant Christian gentleman.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, at my request, has sent me the following words. There could be no better conclusion for this biography.

“I do not think that among the scores of men with whom I am in constant or occasional touch about the Missionary problems of the world there is any one who has given me quite the same sense of continued enthusiasm and steadiness. The width of his knowledge was great. But what impressed me, time after time, even more than what he knew, was the deep Christian sanity of the man himself. He was in many respects my ideal of a Missionary leader, and I have been deeply stirred by noticing the impression he left upon statesmen and other public men to whom I introduced him. In regard to our larger Missionary polity I can truly say that I miss him at every turn.”

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